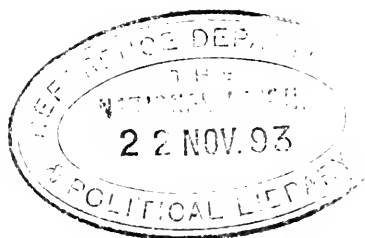




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THE
BRIEF FOR THE GOVERNMENT
1886-92

THE
BRIEF FOR THE GOVERNMENT

1886-92

*A HANDBOOK FOR
CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST WRITERS,
SPEAKERS, ETC.*

BY
W. H. MEREDYTH

SECOND EDITION

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
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TO
HIS GRACE
THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT, K.G.,
LORD LIEUTENANT OF MONMOUTHSHIRE,
PRESIDENT OF THE WESTERN DIVISION OF THE
NATIONAL UNION OF CONSERVATIVE
ASSOCIATIONS,
THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF REGARD
AND APPRECIATION OF HIS UNTIRING ENERGY
IN PROMOTING THE CONSERVATIVE CAUSE
IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND.

388027

ANNUAL REPORT
2013-2014
YEAR

P R E F A C E.

IT is not without some reluctance that I venture to give to the public the notes which I have from time to time collected in favour of the Ministerial policy.

In the first place, I am perfectly conscious that a work of this kind cannot be complete. Much might be added to almost each subject dealt with. But I hope such omissions will not impair the value of what is included.

I believe the second edition of 'The Brief' forms a reliable handbook for every citizen who is willing to listen to our side of the question, and to give an intelligent vote in the election of a representative to Parliament.

That general election, when it does occur, will be one of the most serious and momentous events in the history of our country. It will mean either a continuation of the prosperity and greatness of our country, or the inauguration of a downward era towards the splitting up, and perhaps final decay, of the British Empire.

If the Conservative party in each constituency are fortunate in the selection of a candidate, not always on account of territorial possessions, but a man who

can lead men, and who possesses the power of winning sympathy and confidence, the result cannot be doubtful. The Government have done so much for every class of the community,—their policy, in Ireland, at home and abroad, has proved so successful,—that the nation would seem not only ungrateful but fatally blind to its own interests, if it set aside wise and tried administrators for an alliance between the avowed enemies of the Empire and the third-rate politicians who follow Mr Gladstone.

To the press generally I am deeply indebted for the kindness and consideration with which my first edition was received. Thanks mainly to them ‘The Brief’ has been widely circulated.

My acknowledgments are also due to the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, Chief Secretary for Ireland; to the Hon. George Curzon, M.P.; Col. Eyre, C.B., M.P.; Mr Hayes Fisher, M.P.; Mr Hill Smith of Armagh, and others, for the valuable suggestions they have made for the improvement of ‘The Brief.’

Last, but by no means least, my thanks are due to the rank and file of the Conservative and Unionist party, whose support has enabled me to complete my second edition, which to me has been a labour of love.

W. H. MEREDYTH.

JUNIOR CARLTON CLUB,
PALL MALL, LONDON, S.W.,
November 1891.

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PART I.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION.

LORD SALISBURY'S second Administration, formed in July 1886, has entered upon its sixth year of office.

Constitutional law will require an early appeal to the judgment of the constituencies. Can the supporters of the present Government reasonably expect a favourable reply when they ask whether they have deserved well of their fellow-countrymen?

Without fear of contradiction, I venture to assert that no Government during the reign of Queen Victoria has been so successful in administration, or so far-reaching in legislation, as the present.

Whether we may claim for the Conservative party exclusive credit for these results or not, assisted by their Liberal allies, their term of office has been a period of unusual happiness and progress for all sections of our people.

Loyalty like that of Lord Hartington, Mr Chamberlain, and Sir Henry James, will serve as a happy illustration to all future generations that English statesmanship can sometimes rise above party factions. All honour to these Liberal Unionists!

The cream of the once united Liberal party are with us. Lord Selborne, Lord Derby, and Mr Jesse Collings, and do not let us forget, perhaps the greatest of them all, the late Mr John Bright, all these have ranged themselves on the side of true liberty and national unity.

And what has been the outcome of this noble alliance?

In administration, they found an Ireland distracted by internecine war, a prey to the cowardly ruffians who committed midnight outrage; an Ireland where the honest and law-abiding majority were cowed and terrorised by a small gang of noisy and criminal agitators.

What a contrast is the Ireland of to-day! Peace, law, and prosperity have been restored; and the party of repeal are too busy rending and tearing one another to menace the rights and liberties of the loyal.

In England there are four achievements of which any Administration might justly be proud:—

1. The construction of a uniform and representative system of county government.
2. The provision of a powerful and adequate navy.
3. The conversion of the 3 per cent stock.¹
4. The freeing of elementary education.

Then let us turn to foreign affairs. All who can remember and contrast the years 1880 to 1885 with the years 1886 to 1891 will not surely hesitate to give their verdict.

¹ Mr Gladstone, Newcastle, Oct. 2, 1891: "Much has been said, and fairly and justly said, of the change effected by the present Parliament in the conversion of the National Debt, which has resulted, and will still result, in a large annual saving."

When Mr Gladstone was at the head of affairs, with Lord Granville at the Foreign Office, it is not exaggerating to say that they moved on from blunder to blunder, from disaster to disaster, and from humiliation to humiliation, with a monotonous persistency almost ludicrous. Who can forget the Transvaal and its shameful surrender in 1881? or the vacillating weakness of the proceedings in Egypt, and subsequent wanton sacrifice of life in the Soudan? The strained relations with Germany and France in 1883 and 1884 have since been turned to sincere friendship, and Lord Salisbury has never threatened war with Russia as Mr Gladstone did in his place in Parliament as first minister of the Queen, only to eat his own words a few days afterwards. Neither have the present Government asked for a vote of credit, amounting to £11,000,000, as Mr Gladstone did in April 1885. It is indeed a boon when a Ministry maintains peace, and at the same time preserves our interests without recourse to threats which might become grim realities.

Then there has been a vast amount of solid though quiet work. The Indian frontier has been systematically strengthened since 1886.

We have made conventions with Germany, France, and Portugal, with regard to the great African continent, whereby the possibility of friction and misunderstanding has been removed. Thanks to Lord Salisbury, we have opened up this vast continent for the commerce and enterprise of future generations.

In 1891 an agreement was entered into with Italy which defines the boundaries of the two countries in Eastern Africa.

Negotiations with regard to seal-fishery in the Bering Sea, Newfoundland, and the slave trade, are approaching completion.

In Egypt, Lord Salisbury has established an effec-

tive tribunal of justice, and its finances have steadily improved. Our occupation of that country has become an established fact.

The dependencies of Great Britain have been taught to realise that their interests and those of the mother country are identical. Federation, a mere visionary scheme in 1885, is shaping itself into a practical and attainable project.

The work accomplished between Nov. 1890 and Aug. 1891 was worthy the previous record of the present Parliament.

Lord Salisbury referred to it in his Mansion House speech on July 29, 1891: "Our session began before the last year closed. It has been a session full of anxiety and fatigue, but I think the people of this country will recognise that it has been a session of hard and valuable work."

But we are often met with the charge, that however excellent the achievements of the past may have been, the Unionist programme holds out no inducement for the future.

It would be impossible for supporters of the Government to attempt to equal the vague and meaningless promises made by the Opposition. There are, however, certain measures which have either been mentioned by leading Unionist statesmen or already contained in the speeches from the Throne. They are as follows:—

1. *Local Government for Ireland*.—Queen's speeches 1887 and 1890. Promised by Mr Balfour at Portsmouth on June 5, 1889, and again at Plymouth on Aug. 10, 1891.

2. *Small Holdings*.—Queen's speech, Nov. 25, 1890. Mr Goschen's reply to Mr Jesse Collings, July 31, 1891: "It is the intention of the Government to deal with this question as announced in the speech from the Throne, and the President of the

Board of Agriculture will introduce a bill on the subject next session."

3. *District Councils*.—Promised in Queen's speech, Nov. 25, 1890. Also part of Mr Ritchie's local government scheme in 1888.

4. *Employers' Liability*.—Queen's speech, Nov. 25, 1890: "for amending the law with respect to the compensation payable by employers in case of injury to persons in their employment."

5. *Friendly Societies*.—Queen's speech, Nov. 25, 1890: "for increasing the security of friendly societies." Bill read a second time on the motion of Sir H. Maxwell, May 22, 1891.

This is one side of the picture. What is the re-verse—the party to which we are asked to hand over the control of our national affairs should the country refuse to give the Government a majority at the general election? We must take them on trust. We must not inquire into their antecedents or their proposals, but blindly place Mr Gladstone at the head of a parliamentary majority, and we must forget that, with hardly an exception worth naming, all the great representatives of Liberalism have repudiated the desertion of the principle of unity which is the very essence of Liberalism in America and on the Continent.

The followers left to Mr Gladstone, and who call themselves the legitimate Opposition, have not the elements to form a useful or trustworthy Administration. They occupied very inferior places in their party while it was still a great and responsible one. The absence of better men is their sole title to distinction. And they are hopelessly at variance one with another. Mr Cunninghame Graham has but a poor opinion of Mr Labouchere. Mr Conybeare regards with some contempt the bad taste of Mr Gladstone, which leads him to prefer Mr John Morley to the member for Camborne. The split in the Irish party in November 1890 has rendered all alliance

**The Op-
position.**

either with the Parnellites or the Healyites out of the question. Where, then, is Mr Gladstone to find material for a Cabinet, should he ever be called upon to construct one?

Again, signs are not wanting that the demoralisation of 1886 is still spreading among the Gladstonian ranks.

On questions of Home Rule for Wales and Scotland, there is an increasing feeling of alarm among thinking Gladstonians. The movement is getting out of hand, and so long as there is a prospect of spoliation it will become more and more unmanageable. Mr Asquith, one of the few Gladstonian members of the House of Commons who still preserve some independence, has more than once appealed for information as to the future Home Rule Bill which is to do so much. Speaking at the Leeds Liberal Association on Jan. 7, 1890, the 'Daily News' of the following day reports Mr Asquith thus: "He had repeatedly expressed the opinion, which he now expressed again, that the leaders of the Liberal party would be acting wisely and justly if they were to take the country a little more into their confidence in this matter. (Cheers.) If they went to the country with a vague formula, calling it Home Rule, or local self-government, or whatever they pleased, and obtained a majority on behalf of that formula, what would be the position when they went back to Westminster and introduced a bill? The Opposition would say, 'You have no mandate for the introduction of this measure, and we are justified in obstructing it, and forcing you to take it back to the constituencies.' Such dangers ought to be avoided, and there ought to be forthcoming a broad and general outline on which the opinion of the country was intended to be taken. (Cheers.)"

Mr Asquith has only expressed in words a wide-

spread feeling among Gladstonians. If Mr Gladstone can improve upon the scheme he introduced in 1886, and if he can substitute a new form of constitutional government which will settle all the difficulties of Irish administration, the sooner it is before the country the better. A wise and feasible scheme will lose nothing of its value if a general outline is made public.

Mr Gladstone's apologists are decidedly weak in their explanation as to the cause of his reticence.

Lord Cavan criticised Mr Asquith's speech, and vindicated his leader in somewhat remarkable terms. "I have a pet Home Rule scheme of my own," writes Lord Cavan, "whereby all difficulties are met. But then I am not the leader of the Liberal party. Could all the Liberal electors be trusted to remember that, Mr Gladstone's and Lord Spencer's experience ought to count for a good deal. If a general outline of the coming Home Rule Bill were published to-morrow, could all our supporters be trusted to put Mr Gladstone's experience before their own?"

Daily
News, Jan.
10, 1890.

This is a remarkable confession from a well-known follower of Mr Gladstone's. It is evident that the principal reason why the "coming Home Rule Bill" is not submitted to the country is that Mr Gladstone *cannot trust his own supporters*.

Mr Balfour said at Plymouth (Aug. 10, 1891) that the Irish question is not to be solved by this or even the next generation.

To return a weak and vacillating Government at the coming election would be to reopen the whole dreary controversy.

Mr Gladstone could, and probably would, undo in a fortnight the work of more than five years.

Our policy can only be successful as long as it is continuous. To reverse it, even to pause in the administration of the law, would immediately prove

fatal. Applied without fear or favour, it will solve once and for all the Irish problem.

As Lord Salisbury observed at the Mansion House (July 29, 1891): "We have done our best to apply, not a temporary palliative, but a permanent cure to the evils by which Ireland through so many generations has been afflicted."

And I would ask all impartial Irishmen to remember this—it is equally for their benefit that we seek to maintain the unity of the three kingdoms. To quote Lord Salisbury once more:—

"We have always said that it is essential to the interests of this country that the close bond between the two islands should be maintained. For the true interests of the Irish people of all classes and creeds the close bond between England and Ireland is essential. Look at recent events. Would it have been possible to have carried out a system of relief so well organised and so effective if English power as well as English credit had not been at the back of the Government by whom the relief operations have been conducted?"

"Would it have been possible to restore law and order in the manner in which, during the last five years, they have been restored, if there had not been the strength of the larger island to sustain the action of the Government?" (Mansion House, July 29, 1891.)

CHAPTER II.

HAS TRADE INCREASED SINCE 1886?

THE first claim the Government can make to the confidence of a great industrial nation is the clear convincing proof that under its auspices the com-

merce of the empire has attained a degree of prosperity almost without parallel.

The following figures will establish, beyond the possibility of doubt, that Lord Salisbury's Government can make this claim, and it seems impossible that the democracy of this country can refuse to show their appreciation of such results.

| IMPORTS AND EXPORTS. | | | | General trade statistics, 1886-91. |
|---|---------|--------------|--------------|---|
| | | | INCREASE. | |
| 1886 | | £618,000,000 | | Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom and Board of Trade Returns. |
| 1887 | | 642,000,000 | £24,000,000 | |
| 1888 | | 685,000,000 | 43,000,000 | |
| 1889 | | 742,000,000 | 57,000,000 | |
| 1890 | | 748,000,000 | 6,000,000 | |
| Total increase of trade under the present Government | | | £130,000,000 | |

EXPORTS OF BRITISH AND IRISH MANUFACTURES, ETC.

| | | | INCREASE. |
|---|---------|--------------|-------------|
| 1888 | | £234,534,912 | |
| 1889 | | 248,935,195 | £14,400,283 |
| 1890 | | 263,542,500 | 14,607,305 |
| Total increase of the trade in British goods in <i>two years</i> | | | £29,007,588 |

Export trade increased in 1890 by nearly 6 per cent, including £3,500,000 more cotton manufactures and £2,500,000 more iron and steel.

I will now deal with some of the staple industries of the country.

| COAL RAISED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM. | | | | The increase of coal trade. |
|---------------------------------------|---------|-------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| | | Tons. | INCREASE. | |
| 1888 | | 170,000,000 | | |
| 1889 | | 176,916,724 | 6,916,724 | |
| 1890 | | 181,614,288 | 4,697,564 | |
| Total increase in two years | | | 11,614,288 | |

10 HAS TRADE INCREASED SINCE 1886?

Blue-Book
mineral
statistics,
June 1891.

VALUE OF OUTPUT OF COAL AT THE MINES.

| | | |
|-------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1889. | Total . . . | £56,175,426, or 6s. 4½d. per ton. |
| 1890. | Total . . . | 74,953,997, or 8s. 3d. per ton. |

Increase in value in one year £18,778,571.

VALUE OF IRON AND IRONSTONE RAISED.

| | | | |
|-----------|-------|---|------------|
| Iron ore. | 1889. | Total value | £3,848,268 |
| | 1890. | Total value | 3,926,445 |
| | | Increase in value in one year | £78,177 |
| | | Or just over 2 per cent. | |

| | | | |
|-----------|-------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Pig iron. | 1889. | Total value | £12,695,246 |
| | 1890. | Total value | 14,808,884 |
| | | Increase in one year | £2,113,638 |
| | | Or just 16.66 per cent. | |

| | | | |
|------|-------|--------------------------------|----------|
| Tin. | 1889. | Total value | £860,342 |
| | 1890. | Total value | 937,760 |
| | | Increase in one year | £77,418 |

| | | | |
|-------|-------|--------------------------------|----------|
| Zinc. | 1889. | Total value | £192,145 |
| | 1890. | Total value | 203,358 |
| | | Increase in one year | £11,213 |

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--------------------------------|---------|
| Copper. | 1889. | Total value | £49,948 |
| | 1890. | Total value | 57,650 |
| | | Increase in one year | £7,702 |

Shipping. SHIPPING ENTERED AND CLEARED AT UNITED KINGDOM PORTS.

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| | | | | | | | | Tons. |
| Parlia- mentary Paper, 269. 1891. | 1886 | | | | | | | 54,982,000 |
| | 1888 | | | | | | | 58,790,000 |
| | 1890 | | | | | | | 62,836,000 |
| | | Increase between 1886 and 1890 | | | | | | 7,854,000 |

Ship-
building. Lloyd's Registers for 1887, 1888, 1889, and 1890, show a marked increase in the tonnage of shipping constructed in the United Kingdom. In 1889 it was 8 per cent greater than during the preceding year.

In January 1890 more than 434 vessels, representing over 769,453 tons, were in course of construction.

The traffic in merchandise on the railways of the United Kingdom increased in 1890 by some 19,000,000 tons as compared with the previous decade. **Railway statistics.**

Commercial enterprise in 1891 has been great. But it would be impolitic to overlook the probable effect of the MacKinley tariffs, which will temporarily affect our trade with the United States. But for the general vitality of all classes of industry the consequences might have been far more serious.

Throughout the whole of the South Wales coal-field new pits are being sunk and new works constructed.

The Staffordshire steel industry is almost unprecedentedly active. According to the 'Engineer' some steel firms are compelled to refuse orders. The trade with Australia, India, Japan, and South America has never been in a more satisfactory condition.

The delegates of the workmen and miners in the North, in Staffordshire, and in South Wales have obtained increase upon increase of wages. In some instances as much as 40 per cent. At the Birmingham Miners' Conference (representing over 156,000 men), on Jan. 7, 1891, the President, *Mr B. Pickard, M.P. (G.L.)*, said: "There had been an advance in wages of 40 per cent all round. Values had been raised as well as wages; trade had been kept in the country, and immense sums of money put into the pockets of the employers. Their wages were none too high; but the men were fairly well off. He was pleased to know that Somerset had just received another 2½ per cent." Mr Pickard is the secretary of the Miners' Association, and a consistent opponent of the Government. His testimony is therefore all the more valuable. **The increase of wages, 1890-91.**
Birmingham Gazette, Jan. 8, 1891.

The districts in which the advances of wages have been more especially felt include Cannock Chase, Ebbw Vale, Blaevafou, Tredegar, Cyfartha, Rhymney, Cardiff, Newport, Lanark, Northumberland, Durham, Cleveland Ironstone Mines, North and East Lancashire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, &c.

**Emigra-
tion
Returns,
decrease
in 1890.**

The Board of Trade returns on emigration for 1890 show a decrease in number of those who left this country as compared with the previous year (1889). From England the decrease was 23,475. From Scotland the decrease was 4569. From Ireland the decrease was 7522.

**Board of
Trade
Returns,
Sept. 1891.**

The Board of Trade Returns, issued Sept. 7, 1891, show that the United States trade in textiles and metals has slightly decreased. But for the eight months ending Aug. 31, 1891, the imports have increased by £6,471,546 as compared with the corresponding period of 1890, which proves the continued prosperity of the country.

**Lord
Salisbury,
Notting-
ham,
Nov. 1889.**

“On confidence is built the proud structure of our commercial supremacy. If I were asked to define Conservative policy, I should say it was the upholding of confidence.”

CHAPTER III.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS: MINING.

COAL MINES REGULATION ACT, 1887.

AUTHORITIES upon mining questions seemed agreed that the existing regulations as to safety and the employment of women and children were unsatisfactory. The Act of 1872 had failed in many respects. *Sir Richard Cross* and *Mr Stuart-Wortley* made an effort towards the amendment of the 1872

Act by their Coal Mines Bill, which was read a first time on 19th Feb. 1886, and received Royal assent on 25th June 1886. In addition to this Act, *Mr Childers* and *Mr H. Broadhurst*, on behalf of the Gladstonian Ministry, introduced a bill on the 18th May 1886, which was read a first time, but owing to the pressure of other business which was apparently considered of more importance by the Radical party, the bill was withdrawn on 11th June 1886.

Conservative Act of 1886.

Gladstonian bill, 1886, dropped.

Hansard, June 1886.

At the end of this chapter will be found the proposals contained in Mr Broadhurst's unsuccessful bill; and for the sake of comparison with the Conservative Act of 1887, certain clauses in each measure will be considered side by side. It is a curious comment upon the efficiency of the so-called miners' friends and representatives in the House of Commons, that the welfare of our underground toilers had to be safeguarded by a Conservative Ministry during the early months of its existence. The same spirit of conciliation and desire to pass a really effective Act guided the Government in this as in other matters of social legislation; and surely the time cannot be far distant when the miners of the United Kingdom must reconsider their unprofitable alliance with the Gladstonian party, which has shown itself so ready to sacrifice their interests on almost every occasion.

The proceedings in the House of Commons during the consideration of the 1887 Act are of some interest. Parliament opened on the 27th Jan., and on 31st of Jan. *Mr Matthews* and *Mr Stuart-Wortley* introduced their bill. The second reading was unopposed.

Coal Mines Regulation Bill, Jan. 31, 1887.

Committee proceedings began on the 20th June, and lasted until 19th Aug. Of course *Mr Broadhurst* could not openly express anything but approval of Mr Matthews' bill, but during the discussion of several amendments it became evident that he was

Second Reading, April 13, 1887.

In Com-

mittee,
June 20 to
June 24.

Hansard,
June 1887.

Com-
mittee,
June 22.

not altogether pleased at its far-reaching and valuable nature. In Committee on 22d June, clause 4, which proposed to limit the age for the employment of boys in mines to ten years, *Mr Burt* moved an amendment raising it to twelve years. *Mr W. H. Smith* and *Mr E. H. Llewelyn* and other Conservatives supported the amendment, which was carried by 262 votes to 7. With regard to the time of employment of boys, *Mr Mason* proposed an amendment to limit it to forty-eight hours a-week, but *Mr Matthews* explained that the Education Act made it impossible for any boy to work anything like the fifty-four hours mentioned in the bill, and consequently the amendment was unnecessary. It was negatived.

Com-
mittee,
June 23,
1887.

Clause 8 regulates the employment of boys, girls, and women. *Mr J. Ellis* wished to strike out girls. *Mr Bradlaugh* opposed the amendment, and *Mr Matthews* did not think the Committee would be justified in interfering with women who were gaining an honest living. Amendment negatived. But another amendment by *Mr Ellis*, raising the age of the girls to twelve, was agreed to. *Mr Burt* proposed to restrict women's labour by prohibiting the employment of boys, girls, and women in moving pit tubs, trams, or skips. His amendment was negatived.

Clause 13 provided that wages should be paid according to the weight of the mineral produced, unless the mine is exempted from this enactment by the Secretary of State. *Mr Fenwick* wished to make this enactment obligatory in all cases, and an amendment to that effect was carried.

Com-
mittee,
June 24,

On 24th June several amendments to clause 14, of which notice had been given, were withdrawn. *Mr Burt* suggested that check-weighers should supply the workmen with any reasonable information, which was added as a proviso.

An improvement was made in clause 17, by a provision that the distance between the shafts at the surface should not be less than 15 yards. *Sir Lyon Playfair's* suggestion that the communications between the seams and shafts should not be less than 5 and 4 feet, was adopted. *Mr J. E. Ellis* moved that proper apparatus for raising and lowering persons at each shift should be constantly available for use. *Mr Matthews* agreed to this.

On 15th Aug., when Committee proceedings were resumed, an amendment suggested by *Mr Burt*, that before a person be qualified as manager or under-manager he should have practical experience in a mine for five years, was added by *Mr Matthews* to clause 21. Com-
mittee,
Aug. 15.

On clause 40, *Mr Matthews* proposed that when a number of persons were qualified for appointment as inspectors of mines in Wales and Monmouthshire, a person having a knowledge of the Welsh language should be preferred. This was agreed to. In course of the subsequent discussion, *Mr Matthews* promised to consider the question of increasing the number of inspectors, and the frequency of the inspection of mines. Several other amendments were either negatived or withdrawn.

On 16th Aug., clause 50 (general rules, thirty-seven in number) was considered. *Mr Matthews* accepted a technical amendment by *Mr Fenwick*; he (*Mr Matthews*) also added an amendment of his own to ensure that mines should be properly inspected. An amendment by *Colonel Blundell*, to prevent coal being worked with a naked light in a ventilating district, &c., was agreed to. *Mr Matthews* moved to substitute a string of sub-rules for those in rule 12, stating the conditions under which explosive operations should be conducted. This was agreed to. Further amendments respecting machinery, and certificates of competency for those employed in work- Com-
mittee,
Aug. 16

ing machinery, were withdrawn or negatived. But an amendment by *Mr Atherley-Jones*, providing that a barometer and thermometer should be kept above-ground in a conspicuous position near the entrance of a mine, was agreed to.

Com-
mittee,
Aug. 17.

On 17th Aug., the consideration of clause 50 was resumed, and rule 33 was amended by a provision requiring that ambulances should always be kept ready for use. The subsequent rules, clauses, &c., with slight amendments, mainly of a verbal nature, were added to the bill.

Consid-
ered as
amended,
Sept. 3.

The bill was reported as amended on 19th Aug., and considered as amended on 3d Sept. *Mr Matthews* moved a new clause, applying section 38 of the Public Health (1875) Act to portions of a mine above-ground in which females are employed. This was agreed to. To clause 12 *Mr Matthews* moved an addition, providing that minerals got from a mine should be weighed as near to the pit mouth as was reasonably practicable. This was opposed by *Mr Burt*, but carried by 87 to 43. *Mr Matthews* added a further amendment to regulate the speed at which the cage should be wound up. Several other amendments being disposed of, the bill was read a third time.

Third
Reading,
Sept. 3.

House of
Lords,
Sept. 6, 7,
and 8.

The bill was brought from the Commons and read a first time in the House of Lords on 6th Sept. *Lord Cross* moved the second reading on 7th Sept., which was carried without a division. Certain amendments were carried in Committee; but the bill was in no way impaired—the alterations, principally on matters of detail, being of the slightest possible character. The bill was read a third time, and sent back to the Commons on 9th Sept.

Lords,
Third
Reading,
Sept. 9.

The Lords' amendments were considered in the Commons on 12th Sept. *Mr Matthews* supported the Lords' amendment which struck out the prohi-

bition of the use of Davy's and Stevenson's safety lamps. This was agreed to ; likewise the Lords' amendment limiting the speed of winding to three miles an hour. *Mr Cunninghame-Graham* tried to achieve a little personal notoriety by using an insulting expression towards the House of Lords when these amendments were under discussion. He was promptly suspended, and the subsequent amendments passed without much discussion. The Coal Mines Regulation Act finally received Royal assent on 16th Sept. 1887.

Royal
Assent,
Sept. 16.

For his services with respect to the manner in which the bill was piloted through the House of Commons, the Home Secretary received the thanks of opponents as well as supporters. Previous to these Committee proceedings, Mr Matthews had not enjoyed very great popularity even on his own side of the House. But members began to realise that his administrative capacity was of the highest order ; and though *Mr Stuart-Wortley* had borne his share of the work, it was essentially Mr Matthews' bill, and the House of Commons recognised the fact. It is hardly necessary to quote the opinions of friends. The verdict of opponents is a surer test :—

Mr Burt (Morpeth). "It is but justice to the right honourable gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr Matthews), to admit, as I frankly do, that he has given the utmost consideration to this very complicated and difficult question. . . . I recognise, as I think I have done already, very thankfully, that the Home Secretary has shown every disposition to deal with the question as effectively and broadly as possible in the direction of safety and in the direction of making a practicable bill."

Opinions
of mem-
bers of
Glad-
stonian
Opposi-
tion, Aug.
19, 1887.

Sir Hussey Vivian (Swansea District). "It appears to me, and I have very great pleasure in saying it, that the right honourable gentleman, the Secretary of

State for the Home Department, has met the requirement of the various interests—those of owners of mines, and also of those who work in the mines—in a very admirable spirit. I took an active part in the discussion on the first Coal Mines Regulation Bill which was ever introduced into this House in 1861; I took an interest in the subject subsequently in 1862, and I am bound to say that I have never known any Home Secretary—even carrying my mind back to Sir George Cornewall Lewis—who has endeavoured more earnestly to fulfil his very onerous duties of providing for the safety of the men in the mines of the country than the right honourable gentleman the present Home Secretary. I cannot but tender to him my grateful thanks for the earnest manner in which he has devoted his attention to this most difficult clause. I am bound to say I entirely approve of the mode in which he has met the other difficulties which he has had to encounter, and I think it must be a very great satisfaction to him to know that he has met both the requirements of the master and man. I have received testimony from both men and masters in the great district of Glamorgan to the effect that they are perfectly satisfied with the amendments proposed by the right honourable gentleman.”

Sir Joseph Pease (Durham, Barnard Castle). “I have listened with great satisfaction to the remarks of the honourable gentleman the member for Swansea District (Sir Hussey Vivian), and I wish to re-echo his words, and the remarks of the honourable member for Morpeth (Mr Burt), as to the great pains the right honourable gentleman the Home Secretary has taken with regard to this clause.”

Mr W. Abraham (Glamorgan, Rhondda). “I am sure no words from me are needed in confirmation of the statement of other honourable members as to the efficient and practical manner in which the right

honourable gentleman the Home Secretary has discharged the difficult task he has had to perform."

It is desirable to draw a comparison between the Act passed by a Conservative Government, and the bill which was introduced and dropped by a Radical Government. Mr Broadhurst's confession, made subsequently in the House of Commons, was as follows: "I had my name on the back of the bill of last year, but there were one or two points upon which that bill did not come up to my desire as to what legislation on this subject should be." It will be remembered that the Radical Bill was read a first time on 18th May 1886, but failed to pass.

Comparison between the Conservative Act and Radical Bill.

Mr Broadhurst on his own bill. *Hansard*, vol. 316, p. 642.

| | |
|---|--|
| CONSERVATIVE ACT, 1887. | RADICAL BILL, 1886. |
| <i>Mr Matthews and Mr Stuart-Wortley.</i> | <i>Mr Childers and Mr H. Broadhurst.</i> |

1. Safety-lamps (required in places where there is likely to be any such quantity of inflammable gas as to render the use of naked lights dangerous) to be so constructed that they may be safely carried against the air current (even though inflammable and however rapid) ordinarily prevailing in that part of the mine in which the lamps are for the time being in use.—Rule 8.

Merely required that lamps should be safe in explosive currents moving at the rate of 800 feet per minute.

2a. The workmen to select any person they please to be checkweighman, who shall have every facility afforded him for fulfilling his duties, and who cannot be dismissed except where he has "impeded or interrupted the working of the mine, or interfered with the weighing or with any of the workmen, or with the management of the mine, or

The words "or otherwise misconducted himself" were struck out in Committee. The checkweighman could be dismissed if he had impeded or interrupted the working of the mine, or interfered with the weighing, or had otherwise misconducted himself (anywhere) to the detriment of the owner, agent, or manager.

CONSERVATIVE ACT, 1887—
continued.

RADICAL BILL, 1886 — *con-
tinued.*

has *at the mine*, to the detriment of the owner, agent, or manager, *either* done anything beyond taking such account, *or otherwise misconducted himself.*—Sec. 13.

2b. Checkweighman when chosen by ballot to recover his wages from *all* the men at the same mine.—Sec. 14.

3. Inspection of roadways and working places by deputies to be made both before and during all shifts, and to be specially directed to the condition of roof and sides, as well as to ventilation and general safety.—Rule 4.

4. Timber to be provided in the mine at the working place or other similar place convenient to the workmen.—Rule 22.

5. The Weights and Measures Act to apply to all weights and weighing-machines at the mine; and all weights, weighing-machines, &c., to be inspected by the Government Inspector of Weights and Measures once at least in every six months, and also *at any other time* when that inspector suspects the existence of false weights, &c. Inspector empowered to act without the authorisation from a justice required by the Weights and Measures Act.—Sec. 16.

6. Shot-firing in mines (where use of safety-lamps is required, or where gas has

This provision, the result of an agreement between representatives of owners and men, was inserted in Committee this session with the consent of the Government. Mr Childers's and Mr Broadhurst's bill contained no such provision.

Mr Childers's and Mr Broadhurst's bill required this inspection only "before the time for commencing work," and made no mention of roof and sides.

The bill of Mr Childers and Mr Broadhurst did not secure the six-monthly inspection, or give the inspector these powers.

CONSERVATIVE ACT, 1887— RADICAL BILL, 1886 — *continued.*

been recently found, or where inflammable dust is present) further restricted in such a way as to provide against danger from dust as well as fire-damp.—Rule 12.

7. A practical manager, who may qualify by a second-class certificate, to be down the pit every day. If any superior manager be over him, such superior manager to be nevertheless responsible, even if absent, for breaches of the Act which either of them could have prevented. Examination and qualifications for *second-class certificates* to be suitable for *practical working miners*.—Secs. 21, 23, and 24.

8. Prosecutions *not* to depend upon the will of the inspector or Secretary of State, except where the defendant is sought to be made liable for the acts of others. See Part III. Legal Proceedings.

9. Ventilating fans to be placed out of reach of injury from explosions.—Rule 3.

10. Ambulances and stretchers to be kept at the mine for immediate use in case of accident.—Rule 34.

11. After an accident the place to be left untouched for three days, unless previously visited by inspector.—Sec. 35.

12. In the appointment of inspectors for Wales and Monmouthshire, among candidates otherwise equally qualified, persons having a knowledge of the Welsh language to be preferred.—Sec. 39.

13. To prevent overwind-

None of these provisions.

CONSERVATIVE ACT, 1887—
continued.

RADICAL BILL, 1886—*con-
tinued.*

ing, either there must be an automatic contrivance, or the speed of the winding must, as the cage approaches the top of the shaft, be reduced to three miles an hour.—Rule 26.

None of these provisions.

14. In choosing the two men to inspect the mine on their behalf, who are to have every facility afforded them, the men need not limit themselves to "two of their number," but may appoint two "practical working miners" from any colliery they please.—Rule 38.

15. Coal-getters at the face must have had two years' practical experience.—Rule 39.

16. With a view to securing sufficiently frequent opportunities of returning to the surface, and for other reasons, the special rules are to provide for "convenience" as well as safety of the men.—*E.g.*, sec. 53.

Since coming into operation, the Act has proved of much value. The reports of the Inspectors of Mines for 1888, bear testimony to its effectiveness. The diminution in the number of accidents, even in one year, is all the proof that can be desired. The following is a summary:—

**Reports of
Inspectors
of Mines
for 1888.**

"The Coal Mines Inspectors' reports for 1888 show that during the year the number of persons employed in and about all the mines in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with the Isle of Man, and inclusive of those employed on private branch railways and tramways, and in washing and cooking coal on premises adjacent to or belong-

ing to the mines, amounted to 592,656, of whom 5680 were females above-ground. The number of persons employed in and about all the mines, exclusive of those employed on private branch railways and tramways, and in washing and cooking coal, was 578,417, of whom 5357 were females, the aggregate increase being 10,391. The total number of fatal accidents was 885, and the total number of deaths occasioned thereby 960; being an increase of 4 in the number of fatal accidents, and a decrease of 91 in the number of lives lost, compared with the totals of the preceding year. The death-rate per 1000 was 1.660 as compared with the higher ratio of 1.850 of the year 1887. *This death-rate is more favourable than in any preceding year.*"

| YEARS. | Persons Employed. | | | | Quantity of Coal and other Minerals Wrought. | Separate Fatal Accidents. | Lives lost by the Accidents. | Persons Employed. | | Death-rate from Accidents per 1000 Persons employed. |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|---------|--|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|--|
| | Under-ground. (a) | Above-ground. (b) | | Total. | | | | Per Fatal Accident. | Per Life lost. | |
| | Males. | Males. | Fe-males. | | | | | | | |
| Averages for the 10 years 1874 to 1883 inclusive | 404,169 | 94,025 | 5312 | 503,506 | Tons. 155,793,844 | 857 | 1127 | 587 | 446 | 2.238 |
| 1884 | 422,233 | 93,685 | 4458 | 520,376 | 174,872,759 | 863 | 942 | 603 | 552 | 1.810 |
| 1885 | 424,191 | 92,138 | 4303 | 520,632 | 173,223,960 | 807 | 1150 | 645 | 453 | 2.207 |
| 1886 | 423,862 | 91,977 | 4131 | 519,970 | 170,006,959 | 807 | 953 | 644 | 545 | 1.833 |
| 1887 | 428,540 | 93,554 | 4183 | 526,277 | 173,049,795 | 830 | 995 | 634 | 529 | 1.890 |
| 1888 | 438,902 | 92,108 | 3935 | 534,945 | 182,660,163 | 821 | 888 | 652 | 602 | 1.660 |

This table shows the number of persons employed (otherwise than on private branch railways and tramways, or in washing and cooking coal),

quantity of mineral wrought, number of fatal accidents and deaths, and ratios of the number of persons employed to the number of fatal accidents and deaths, at the mines in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland under the Coal Mines Regulation Act.

Western
Mail,
Sept. 11,
1889.

Mr J. T. Robson, her Majesty's inspector for the South Wales district, commences his report by alluding to the Coal Mines Act, 1887, as "a reasonable attempt on the part of the Legislature to make the miner's occupation a safer one, without unduly hampering such an important industry as mining has now become in this country." The owners and managers, continues the report, have with creditable willingness, for the most part, provided what is necessary to put the various enactments into operation. In the summer of 1888, a correspondent called Mr Matthews' attention to the misrepresentations which have been persistently circulated by the Radical party, on questions relating to the 1887 Act, and this reply was received:—

Radical
misrep-
resenta-
tions.

"HOME OFFICE, WHITEHALL,
21st July 1888."

Letter
from the
Home
Office.

"DEAR SIR,—I am desired by Mr Matthews to acknowledge your letter, in which you call his attention to the following paragraph, occurring in a resolution proposed by Mr Crawford, M.P., at a meeting of 'The Durham Miners' Association,' held on Saturday, July 14:—

"'We are also glad to see that the Miners' Bill, introduced by Mr Childers and Mr Broadhurst in 1886 (and which would have been carried through both Houses of Parliament had the Liberals remained in office), was brought in by the present Government in 1887, and passed during that session, often against the openly declared and determined opposition of the Home Secretary and his assistant, in whose hands the bills had been placed.'

"Mr Matthews would point out that, as a matter of fact, the Coal Mines Regulation Bill of 1887, as introduced by him and Mr Stuart-Wortley, differed in several material respects from Mr Childers's and Mr Broadhurst's bill. Within the limits of a letter it is not possible to enumerate or discuss the points of

difference, but you will find that the provisions of the bill of 1887 as to—

“(a) The use of safety-lamps,

“(b) The inspection of the mine and the condition of ventilation,

“(c) The inspection every six months at least, by the Government Inspector of Weights and Measures, and the large powers conferred upon that official,

“(d) The precautions to be taken when blasting in dry and dusty mines,

were considerably in advance of the proposals made in the bill of the previous year, and are, on the face of them, calculated to secure greater safety and benefit to the working miner. Mr Matthews has no wish to take credit to himself for the differences between his bill and that of which Mr Childers and Mr Broadhurst were the promoters. Both bills were founded on the report of the Royal Commission, and it is only fair to state that Mr Matthews' bill was naturally a more complete measure, owing to the fact that more time could be given to a careful consideration of its various details, and that substantial advantage was derived from the fuller criticism of experts on the subject. It may, perhaps, be mentioned that Mr Broadhurst frankly admitted that the bill of 1886, for which he was jointly responsible, was not to his mind satisfactory. (See Hansard, vol. 316, p. 642.) The resolution above mentioned speaks of the bill of 1887 passing ‘often against the openly declared and determined opposition of the Home Secretary and his assistant.’ It is difficult to imagine that such a ridiculous assertion as this was ever made before a large number of intelligent men, who appear to have been seriously asked to believe that Ministers who had introduced a bill, upon which they had bestowed so much time and labour, should have openly declared their determined opposition to their own work. The best evidence to rebut this mischievous attempt at deception will be found in the pages of the parliamentary reports; and Mr Matthews would commend to your notice the generous testimony to his zeal in the preparation and conduct of the bill which was given by Mr Burt, M.P., Mr Abraham, M.P., and other political opponents in the House of Commons. (See Hansard, vol. 319, p. 765 *et seq.*) Mr Matthews indeed regrets that so misleading and disingenuous a statement, as that which disfigures the resolution already quoted, was proposed or for a moment countenanced by the miners' parliamentary representatives. Their attitude in the House of Commons, during debate, was totally inconsistent with any honest advocacy of this resolution.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“J. S. SANDARS.”

The Act in operation, with the proofs in its favour,

leave no room for doubt as to the extreme value of the legislation, which, thanks to the Government, has bettered the condition of more than half a million human beings.

THE HOME OFFICE AND MINING LEGISLATION.

Local Gov-
ernment
Return,
Jan. 1891.
Value of
Mines.

A return showing the gross estimated rental and ratable value of the several coal, ironstone, and other mines in each poor-law union in England and Wales, was issued by the Local Government Board on Jan. 8, 1891. From this it appears that the total number of coal-mines is 2104, of which the gross estimated rental is returned at £3,601,836, and the ratable value at £3,085,858; ironstone mines number 240, with a gross estimated rental of £362,505, and a ratable value of £344,074; other mines to the number of 555 have a gross rental of £308,246, and a ratable value of £298,321.

Return,
July 1890.
Persons
employed.

A return presented to the House of Commons by Mr Stuart-Wortley on July 8, 1890, showed that nearly 600,000 persons are employed in connection with mining.

For the purpose of controlling this huge industry the Home Office has divided the country into fourteen inspection districts—East Scotland, West Scotland, Newcastle, Durham, Yorkshire, Manchester, Liverpool, Midland, North Wales and Isle of Man, North Stafford, South Stafford, South-western, South Wales, Cornwall and Devon.

In the House of Commons on Jan. 27, 1891, *Mr Stuart-Wortley* (C.), the Under-Secretary to the Home Office, said that the mining industry was one of the regulated industries of the country, and for the discharge of all the functions arising in connection with it there was a separate department at the Home Office which was fully equal to any task imposed

upon it. Mr Matthews had been most careful both as regards the enforcement of the existing law for the prevention of accidents, &c., and its improvement. **Hansard, Jan. 1891.**

Mr Matthews has given additional proofs of his desire to do all in his power to better the condition of miners. On Feb. 17, 1890, he said: "It is always a great gratification to me to meet a body of practical men who can assist me in the difficult subject of dealing with mines. It is a subject to which I have given a great deal of thought and attention, and nothing is nearer my thoughts than the anxiety to do all I can to ensure the safety and welfare of the miner in his dangerous and arduous labour." **Mr Matthews at the Home Office in reply to deputation, Feb. 17, 1890. Daily News, Feb. 18, 1890.**

In Dec. 1890, *Mr Matthews* dealt in a very able circular with another important phase of coal-mining—the cause of explosions. In 1879 Sir R. Cross appointed a Royal Commission upon this subject. *Mr Matthews* proposed to institute a fresh inquiry to ascertain the cause of disasters, such as coal-dust in the absence of gas, and whether it can cause an explosion; and a Royal Commission was appointed in Feb. for this purpose, under the presidency of the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P., with the following commissioners: Lord Rayleigh, Professor H. B. Dixon, Sir W. T. Lewes, Mr Emerson Bainbridge, and Mr C. Fenwick, M.P. **Circular issued by Mr Matthews Dec. 23, 1890. Times, Dec. 24, 1890. Appointment of Royal Commission, Feb. 1891.**

The establishment of mining schools under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 to educate and improve the condition of miners and their families, with a course of scientific instruction in mineralogy, are among the projects which the Government are carrying into effect. **Mining Schools.**

Whenever it has been possible to show some practical sympathy with these underground toilers, or to meet their views and wishes, the Conservative party has hastened to do so; and I am one of those who believe that the next few years will see a vast change in their political feelings.

CHAPTER IV.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS: AGRICULTURE
AND LAND.

ALLOTMENTS ACT, 1887.

Defeat of
Lord Salis-
bury's
first
Adminis-
tration,
Jan. 26,
1886.

THE short Parliament first met on Jan. 12, 1886. The Conservative Government still remained in office, though Mr Gladstone had a considerable majority, owing to his surrender to Mr Parnell and the alliance between the two wings of the Opposition.

On Jan. 26, *Mr Jesse Collings* moved this amendment to the Address: "That this House regrets that no measures are announced affording facilities to agricultural labourers and others to obtain allotments." While the Government, through *Mr Balfour*, *Mr Chaplin*, and others, expressed their sympathy with the movement and their intention of carrying out this policy in connection with local government, they had no option but to regard an amendment to the Address as a vote of want of confidence entailing their resignation; and as it was carried by 329 votes to 250, Mr Gladstone came into office. But the Radical Government did nothing, and Mr Jesse Collings naturally lost faith in the Gladstonian leaders when they failed to take the slightest practical interest in the allotments question, although they obtained office through his efforts to give allotments to the labouring classes. Then came the General Election of July 1886, and the second session of the Unionist Parliament witnessed the triumph of some of Mr Collings's aspirations, for one of the earliest actions of the Conservative majority in the House of Commons was the passing into law of the Allotments Act. The bill was introduced by *Mr Ritchie*, and read a first time on July 18; second

reading, Aug. 11, when *Mr Jesse Collings* expressed his warmest approval of the Government measure ; third reading, Sept. 5. House of Lords, on the motion of *Lord Onslow*, second reading, Sept. 5 ; third reading, Sept. 8 ; Royal assent, Sept. 16, 1887.

Passage of bill through Parlia-
ment,
July 18 to
Sept. 16,
1887.

The second section provides that when any six registered electors or ratepayers make a representation in writing to the sanitary authority, it becomes the duty of such authority to take the representation into consideration. The sanitary authority, as defined by the "Public Health Act, 1875," being town council, local board, or board of guardians, &c. If the sanitary authority find that there is a demand for allotments for the labouring classes, and that they cannot be obtained on reasonable conditions by voluntary arrangement between the owners of land and the applicants, the sanitary authority are to purchase or hire any suitable land available, and shall let such land in allotments to the labouring population. Sub-section 2 makes provision that for land so acquired the sanitary authority shall pay such rent as they may reasonably expect to recoup from the allotments.

50 & 51
Vict. c. 48.
Sec. 2.

Sec. 2,
sub-sec. 2.

Section 3 provides that if the sanitary authority are unable to acquire suitable land at a reasonable price or rent, they may petition the county council (county authority) to make a provisional order authorising the sanitary authority to put in force the provisions of the Lands Clauses Act, 1845, and the local board shall introduce a bill into Parliament confirming the same. Further sub-sections appoint an arbitrator in case of any dispute as to compensation. The sanitary authority may improve land acquired by them by draining, fencing, &c.

Sec. 3,
sub-secs.
2 and 3.

Sec. 5.

Sections 6 and 7 provide for the management of allotments, and the regulations for letting and the use of allotments.

Secs. 6
and 7.

Sec. 8. Section 8 provides that the sanitary authority may recover the rent due for an allotment as in any other case of landlord and tenant.

Sec. 9. Under section 9 managers are to be elected for each parish where allotments have been provided. The number of managers to be determined by the sanitary authority, but they shall not be less than three or more than five (sub-sec. 3).

The electors of allotment managers are the parliamentary electors in each parish. An elector may only give one vote to any one candidate, and may not vote for more candidates than the number to be elected (sub-sec. 7).

The Local Government Board appoints the time and mode of election of such managers, and may make the necessary arrangements with regard to the duties of the returning officer (sub-sec. 8).

If a poll is demanded, it is to be conducted under the provisions of the Ballot Act, 1872 (35 & 36 Vict. c. 33).

Sec. 10. Section 10 includes all the expenses incurred under the Act as part of the expenses under the Public Health Act, 1875. The sanitary authority are also
Expenses. invested with power to borrow for the purposes of acquiring, improving, or adapting land for allotments.

The remaining clauses relate to the power of allotment trustees, combination of parishes, register of tenancies, &c.

Whatever its critics may allege to the contrary, we have in this Act a most useful and comprehensive scheme for the creation of labourers' allotments. If all its provisions are put into force by the local authorities, there can be no possible obstacle to the acquirement of large pieces of land for conversion into small holdings. It must be admitted that local authorities have not availed themselves of the privi-

leges conferred upon them by the Government to that extent which the promoters of the Act anticipated. No explanation of this slackness has been forthcoming. The appointment of managers being vested in the electors of each parish should help to make the Act popular. Indeed all its provisions seem to have been drafted with this intention.

But the Act has not been inoperative. A great many labourers have been provided with allotments, and they owe them to the action of the Government. At a meeting of the Labourers' Rural League, on Oct. 3, 1889, it was announced that nearly 9000 men have been provided with allotments since 1887. Mr Jesse Collings, who presided, gave these figures: By voluntary action under the clauses of the 1887 Act, 2000 acres of land have been supplied to 4800 men. By the direct action of local authorities in purchasing land, 1800 men have been supplied with allotments. By the clauses providing for arrangement between the landlord and local authority, 2100 men have been supplied with allotments.

Some
results
of Act.

Meeting of
Labourers'
Allotment
League,
Oct. 3,
1889.
See
Times,
Oct. 4,
1889.

In Norfolk, on the west side of the river Ouse, some 50 acres of land belonging to the Duke of Portland have been converted into allotments. They are all let, and have been from the first. Some very heavy crops were raised in the summer of 1889, and the occupiers are highly satisfied with the results. The rents have always been punctually paid.

50 acres
in Norfolk
let as
allot-
ments.

On Major Dilke's estate at Ryton, near Coventry, nearly 200 acres have been converted into allotments, at a rental of 30s. per acre. The allotments range from a quarter of an acre to 28 or 30 acres. The experiment has been in operation for two years, and has succeeded.

200 acres
near
Coventry.

In Lincolnshire, on Nov. 14, 1890, near Sleaford, Mr Charles Sharpe entertained 200 allotment tenants at a rent dinner. He said they were becoming appli-

cants for small holdings. The system had been a great success, and the results should give confidence to the possessors of land, and show them that they need not fear to distribute it amongst the working classes.

“Already,” writes a correspondent, “a marked change for the better is to be noticed. The labourer feels himself more independent. He is conscious of possessing an interest in the soil which he never had before. There is always some work to be done when the farmer does not require his services, and he finds room for more remunerative exercise of thrift and industry.”

I had occasion, in my first edition, to remark that it was difficult to obtain an official return giving the number of allotments. But the Board of Agriculture has supplied this among other interesting tabulated statements. It will be seen from the following table that whereas in 1886 there were only 257,795 allotments in Great Britain, in 1890 there were 455,005:—

Parliamentary
Return,
c. 6144,
Aug. 1890.

| COUNTIES. | Allotments. | | |
|--------------------|-------------|--------|---------|
| | 1873. | 1886. | 1890. |
| ENGLAND. | No. | No. | No. |
| Bedford | 8,364 | 12,602 | 15,194 |
| Berks | 5,007 | 8,309 | 10,231 |
| Buckingham | 8,632 | 12,346 | 17,225 |
| Cambridge | 9,596 | 10,576 | 13,428 |
| Chester | 929 | 2,603 | 3,239 |
| Cornwall | 1,762 | 3,127 | 2,539 |
| Cumberland | 410 | 676 | 1,125 |
| Derby | 5,628 | 7,128 | 10,702 |
| Devon | 7,063 | 10,264 | 10,470 |
| Dorset | 7,322 | 9,135 | 10,895 |
| Durham | 1,000 | 4,294 | 9,077 |
| Essex | 8,269 | 12,228 | 12,770 |
| Carry forward . . | 63,982 | 93,288 | 116,895 |

| COUNTIES. | Allotments. | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------|---------|
| | 1873. | 1886. | 1890. |
| ENGLAND. | No. | No. | No. |
| Brought forward | 63,982 | 93,288 | 116,895 |
| Gloucester | 7,552 | 11,144 | 14,653 |
| Hants | 6,712 | 8,590 | 12,614 |
| Hereford | 997 | 1,857 | 1,440 |
| Hertford | 5,197 | 8,316 | 10,014 |
| Huntingdon | 3,376 | 5,402 | 5,980 |
| Kent | 4,150 | 6,613 | 11,660 |
| Lancaster | 992 | 3,706 | 4,447 |
| Leicester | 17,168 | 18,496 | 23,396 |
| Lincoln | 7,430 | 11,710 | 15,921 |
| Middlesex | 689 | 1,844 | 3,098 |
| Monmouth | 569 | 767 | 1,802 |
| Norfolk | 6,400 | 9,130 | 11,855 |
| Northampton | 16,447 | 19,535 | 26,229 |
| Northumberland | 968 | 4,142 | 3,247 |
| Nottingham | 11,317 | 14,795 | 21,253 |
| Oxford | 9,088 | 14,062 | 17,947 |
| Rutland | 1,252 | 1,878 | 2,197 |
| Salop | 1,002 | 1,714 | 2,584 |
| Somerset | 9,503 | 14,908 | 16,477 |
| Stafford | 5,444 | 6,312 | 10,517 |
| Suffolk | 11,664 | 15,258 | 17,658 |
| Surrey | 1,263 | 3,153 | 5,266 |
| Sussex | 2,782 | 4,852 | 6,822 |
| Warwick | 12,794 | 17,174 | 17,731 |
| Westmoreland | 52 | 295 | 950 |
| Wilts | 15,445 | 20,760 | 23,723 |
| Worcester | 4,919 | 7,322 | 9,983 |
| York, East Riding | 1,781 | 4,333 | 3,200 |
| York, North Riding | 4,731 | 6,812 | 8,480 |
| York, West Riding | 6,876 | 10,704 | 12,985 |
| Total for England | 242,542 | 348,872 | 441,024 |
| Total for Wales | 1,726 | 4,949 | 7,562 |
| Total for Scotland | 2,130 | 3,974 | 6,419 |
| Total for Great Britain | 246,398 | 357,795 | 455,005 |

ALLOTMENTS (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1890.

The principal object of this supplemental Act to the legislation of 1887, was to provide for an appeal from a sanitary authority failing to carry out the previous Act.

Second
Reading,
Mr
Ritchie,
Commons,
March
24, 1890.
Hansard,
March
1890.

Mr Ritchie, in moving the second reading in the Commons, denied that the original Act had failed. This amendment of the law would not be in the direction of compulsion. It was the desire of the Government that allotments should be provided by means of voluntary action, and a good feeling fostered between the labourer and landowner.

Although under the 1887 Act such a large number of allotments had been provided, in some instances the sanitary authority had not met the demands of the labourers. Under this bill, if the sanitary authority should fail to provide allotments, an appeal would be made to the county council, and on the representation of six persons the county council would hold an inquiry. The Government were anxious that the Act should be made a real working and useful one.

Sir W. Foster (G.L.) criticised the bill, and considered the clause providing the signature of six ratepayers or electors unnecessary.

Sir E. Birkbeck (C.) thought both the 1887 Act and the present one most useful, but was anxious for the establishment of district councils, which would administer them more satisfactorily.

Sir W. Barttelot (C.) supported the bill.

Sir W. Harcourt (G.L.) attacked the Government.

Mr W. Long (C.) referred to the increase of allotments, and considered that statesmen who won the elections of 1885 by the help of the agricultural voters, and immediately after forgot all about their

pledges, could not pose as the friends of agriculturists.

Mr Jesse Collings (L.U.) was amused at the opposition of the Gladstonians, who had so neglected the agricultural population. But he appealed to them not to let the labourers suffer for mere party purposes. He approved of the bill.

Mr Stansfeld (G.L.), *Mr Chaplin* (C.), and *Sir J. Swinburne* continued the debate.

Eventually, on the motion of *Mr W. H. Smith*, the bill was read a second time *without a division*.

The Committee proceedings were obstructed by thirteen instructions. *Mr Cobb* (G.L.) and *Sir W. Harcourt* supported one of the instructions proposing to create fresh authorities. *Mr Ritchie* and *Mr W. Long* (C.) appealed to them not to endanger the bill. Instruction defeated by 249 to 210 votes.

Committee, May 2, 1890.

Committee, May 6, *Mr Oldroyd* (G.L.) and *Sir W. Foster* (G.L.) moved further amendments, which were defeated by considerable majorities.

Committee, May 6, 1890.

The bill passed the Commons on May 9; Lords, third reading, on the motion of Lord Salisbury, Aug. 1; Royal assent, Aug. 18, 1890.

53 & 54
Vict. c. 65.

The 'Daily News,' March 25, 1890, wrote of the Allotments Amendment Bill thus: "Sir W. Harcourt, while denouncing the bill, wisely abstained from dividing against it. It is better than nothing, and may do some little good. As Major Rasch and other Conservatives put it, the creation of district councils is the obvious and best means of solving the difficulty. When labourers have their own representatives in their own parish they will be able to get what they want. . . . Nothing could have been stronger than the assurances of Mr Ritchie on Mr Stansfeld's amendment of the Address."

Daily
News,
March
25, 1890.

District councils have always formed part of the

Ministerial scheme of local self-government. The appeal to the county council and the machinery of the sanitary authority, are simply inserted in the Allotments Acts because obstruction and unscrupulous opposition have delayed the further development of local government. The fact, however, remains, that this Act supplies a most important want.

**Summary
of 1890
Act.**

Section 2 provides for the appeal to the county council by any six qualified persons stating the facts, and invoking assistance towards putting into force the powers of the sanitary authorities under the 1887 Act for the purpose of providing a sufficient number of allotments. Sub-section 2 gives the county council power to act in substitution for the sanitary authority if necessary.

Section 3 refers to the appointment of a standing committee.

Section 4 gives the county council the same powers as the sanitary authorities if they are called upon to take action.

Section 5 provides the free use of schoolrooms for the purpose of meetings in connection with this Act.

Section 6 refers to the financial part of the proceedings. The county council to defray the expenses in the first instance, and to charge them subsequently as general expenses.

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE ACT, 1889.

**Passage
of Bill
through
Parlia-
ment.
May 13 to
Aug. 12,
1889.
Hansard,**

On May 13, 1889, this bill was ordered to be brought in and read a first time, *Mr W. H. Smith*, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and *Viscount Lewisham* being the introducers.

Mr W. H. Smith moved second reading on 3d June. Carried without a division. Considered in Committee, 24th June; read third time and passed,

27th June. House of Lords, read first time, 28th June. On second reading, *Duke of Richmond* and *Lord Spencer* found fault with the bill. *Lord Salisbury* spoke in support, and second reading agreed to, 11th July; third reading, 23d July; returned from Commons with amendments agreed to, 1st Aug.; Royal assent, 12th Aug.

May, June,
July, and
August.

The board as constituted by this Act takes from the Privy Council the responsibilities of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, besides the comprehensive duties of the Land Commission, and the authority and responsibilities of the Commissioners of her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings under the Survey Act of 1870. The board is intrusted with the collection and preparation of statistics relating to agriculture and forestry, the inspection of schools in which technical instruction is given in agriculture or forestry, and the instituting of experimental investigations which may be conducive to the progress of agriculture and forestry.

Summary
of Act.

Clause 8 provides for the presence of the president of the board, the Minister of Agriculture, in the House of Commons. The Right Honourable Henry Chaplin was appointed the first president in Sept. 1889, being unpaid, with Sir James Caird as paid commissioner, and Lieut.-Colonel G. A. Leach as secretary.

In the first instance, the appointment of a Minister, in the present case of Cabinet rank, whose sole duty will be the promotion of the agricultural interest, is bound to improve the prospects of agriculturists. The Government have always been desirous of helping those who live upon the land. For years they have been neglected by the Legislature, and a succession of bad seasons has resulted in sore trials and losses to the farmer.

Argu-
ments in
favour
of Act.

Technical education, in dairy schools particularly,

cannot fail to bring back an industry which has to some extent left this country. Native *versus* foreign agriculture has become a serious problem. Among our imports from abroad, to the extent of some millions, are articles which could be produced just as cheaply and satisfactorily in this country—such as butter, eggs, and poultry.

The board will also have to consider the abnormal fall in prices, and to take the initiative as far as possible to restore a healthier and better state of things. The time must also come when each rural centre will have its established course of lectures upon mechanics, physics, and chemistry. Farming, like any other industry, can only be taught by long apprenticeship and application.

The success of the Acts 1890, 1891.

The different agricultural statistics issued during 1890-91 are due to the board. It has also rendered immense service to the farmer by disseminating information concerning noxious insects and other enemies of agriculture. In fact, the Board of Agriculture Act is the first serious attempt to relieve the English farmer of many unfair disabilities, and to give him a chance of becoming prosperous and contented in the pursuit of a most ancient and honourable industry.

TITHE RENT CHARGE RECOVERY ACT, 1891.

The Government have made several attempts to simplify the process for the recovery of tithes. Lord Salisbury on more than one occasion proposed their redemption upon very easy and desirable terms, but the encouragement of those principally concerned in the House of Commons is not great, and it was not until the end of 1890 that the proposed legislation of the Government commended itself with any chance of success to the various land interests represented in the House of Commons.

It is not necessary to enter into detail with regard

to the several bills introduced by the Government previous to this the successful one. *Lord Salisbury's* bill, introduced into the House of Lords on March 25, 1887, was a fair illustration of these. It never reached the House of Commons.

At the beginning of the session 1890-91, the Queen's Speech contained the following paragraph: "Proposals will again be made to you for remedying the difficulties which have arisen from the indirect incidents of Tithe Rent Charge upon the land in England and Wales."

**Queen's
Speech,
Nov. 25,
1890.**

On Dec. 1, 1890, *Sir Michael Hicks-Beach* (C.) moved the second reading of the bill. He said it did not propose to *deal* with the appropriation of tithes. It was solely intended to secure the *better payment* of them. The bill contained no provisions relating to redemption; there seemed to be a want of unanimity regarding the law of redemption and the modes by which it was administered. The Government would advise the appointment of a small committee to inquire into this subject.

**Passage
through
Parlia-
ment.
Second
Reading,
Dec. 1,
1890.
Hansard,
Dec. 1890.**

The present bill dealt with the law relating to the recovery of tithe and the method of procedure.

The Government endeavoured to carry into effect the principle that owners of titheable land should in future be prevented from contracting themselves out of their liability to pay tithe rent charge, and that the tithe-owner should have a direct legal remedy against the owner of land instead of against the tenant. The Government proposed that all distraints should be enforced by officers of the county court, as in the case of the Irish Act. He had not neglected to avail himself of the criticisms and suggestions made last session, as the Government desired an amendment of the law which would be fair to all parties concerned.

After a discussion, in which *Mr H. Gardner*

(G.L.) and others took part, the second reading was carried by 224 to 130 votes.

Writing with regard to the second reading, the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' on Dec. 2, 1890, said: "The Tithes Bill is a perfectly innocuous measure. There are no complicated redemption clauses, nor does the bill commit the House of Commons to any declaration as to the final destination of the tithes. The bill deals merely with the method to be adopted by the tithe-owner for recovering his tithe. For the future he will have to apply to the landowner instead of occupier, and if his claim is refused he must proceed by summons in the county court instead of by direct distraint. In these points the new law will be an improvement on the old. Why, then, the bitterness of Mr Stuart Rendel and the Welsh members against the bill? . . . When the time comes, the Welsh will be the first to realise the advantages of having a fund at their disposal which is raised without the burdensome incidents of ordinary taxation."

The Tithe Question Association met on Dec. 4, 1890, found fault with the bill, and resolved that, in consideration of the altered conditions of agriculture, the time had arrived for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole question of tithe, and that the bill be suspended or made temporary for two years, pending the issue of their reports.

Committee,
Jan. 26, 1891.

On Jan. 26, 1891, a number of amendments were disposed of in Committee.

Committee,
Jan. 29.

On Jan. 29 Committee proceedings were resumed.

Sir M. H. Beach moved the following addition to clause II.: "Nothing in this Act shall impose or constitute any personal liability upon any occupier or owner of lands for the payment of any tithe rent charge or any other sum recoverable or payable under this Act, and the Court shall not by virtue of this

Act have any power to imprison any such occupier or owner by reason only of the non-payment of such tithe rent charge or other sum."

Many amendments by *Sir W. Harcourt* and other Gladstonian members were either negatived or withdrawn.

On Jan. 30, *Sir M. H. Beach* gave the terms of the reference to the Commission on Redemption of Tithe Rent Charge: "To inquire to what extent, and on what terms, and at what cost tithe rent charge in England and Wales has been redeemed under the Commutation Act of 1836 and the Acts amending the same; and to report whether, having regard to existing circumstances, any and what amendments to the law are required to encourage and facilitate the redemption of tithe rent charge." The members of the Commission being: Lord Basing, Messrs H. Fowler, G. Cubitt, W. Beadel, F. M. White, Sir H. Vivian, and Mr Dalton.

**Royal
Commis-
sion on
Tithe Rent
Charge,
Jan. 30,
1891.**

Committee resumed, Feb. 2, 1891. *Messrs Gray* (C.), *Lloyd-George* (G.L.), *O. Morgan* (G.L.), *S. Evans* (G.L.), and others, moved various amendments with the intention of delaying the progress of the bill. *Sir M. H. Beach* was most conciliatory, and the amendments were either withdrawn or negatived.

On Feb. 5, on the report stage of the bill, the Welsh Gladstonian members further obstructed the bill.

The bill was further considered on Feb. 9, and various amendments negatived by large majorities.

On Feb. 10, *Mr W. H. Smith* moved that the Tithe Bill have precedence over all other orders of the day. This was carried by 243 to 178 votes.

On Feb. 12, *Sir W. Harcourt* opposed the third reading.

**Third
Reading,
Feb. 12,
1891.**

Sir M. H. Beach said the only persons who, either

in Wales or England, would be brought into county court by the operation of the bill, would be the owners of land, but not the tenants. The tithe-payer would be dealt with on a footing of absolute equality. The bill would be an advantage to those persons legally and justly liable to pay tithe—the owners of land—because by the third clause, where the depression of agriculture had been such that they could fairly claim relief, they would be entitled to it.

Mr Gray (C.) supported the third reading. *Mr Heneage* (L.U.) and others also supported the bill, which was read a third time by 250 to 161 votes. Lords, first reading, Feb. 13; third reading, March 17. Commons, amendments to Lords' amendments agreed to, March 23. Royal assent, March 26, 1891.

54 Vict.
c. 8.

Summary
of Act.

Section 1 enacts that the owner shall be liable, notwithstanding any contract between him and the occupier.

Section 2 provides for the recovery of tithe rent charge through the county court.

Section 5 makes restrictions as to costs. Section 6 defines the rating of the owner of tithe rent charge.

The Act does not extend to Scotland or Ireland.

GLEBE LANDS ACT, 1888.

The minor legislation during the session of 1888, dealing with domestic matters, is of some considerable value to the country.

Glebe
Lands Act,
1888.
51 & 52
Vict. c. 20.

The Glebe Lands Act (51 & 52 Vict. c. 20) not only facilitates the sale of glebe land, but forms a useful addition to the Allotments Act. Facilities are given to labourers, cottagers, &c., for acquiring land. The Land Commissioners may require that the land should be offered for sale in small parcels, or to the local authorities under the Allotments Act.

Section 1 enables an incumbent, after notice to bishop and patron, to apply to the Land Commissioners to approve the sale of glebe land. If the Land Commissioners find that the sale would be for the permanent benefit of the benefice, they may approve the same, and the purchase-money will be paid to the Land Commissioners, and may be invested by them, at the choice of the incumbent, in Government securities, railway debentures, or other approved securities. The investments will be made in the name of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

**Summary
of Act.**

The bill was brought in by three members of the Government—*Mr Stanhope*, *Mr Cecil Raikes*, and *Mr Stuart-Wortley*; read second time, 26th March 1888; third time, 7th May; House of Lords, third time, 5th June; Royal assent, 7th Aug.

**Passage
through
Parlia-
ment.**

LAW OF DISTRESS (RENT) AMENDMENT ACT, 1888.

51 & 52
Vict. c. 21.

This is an Act applicable to England alone. It amends the law of distress for rent, and is an Act of much consequence to poorer tenants. It exempts from distress any goods or chattels of a tenant which would be protected from seizure in execution under the County Courts Act. (Except in cases where the tenant's interest in the premises has expired, and where possession has been demanded, and where the distress has been made not *earlier* than seven days after such demand.) There are several other clauses in the Act, but the most valuable are those which protect tenants from imposition and extortion on the part of those who levy distress. In future, distress can only be levied by persons authorised to act as bailiffs by a certificate of a county court judge. The judge may remove the bailiffs for misconduct or extortion. Persons acting without such authority are to be deemed trespassers, and punished accordingly.

**Act of im-
portance
to small
tenants.**

**Summary
of Act.**

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment.

The bill (Bill 283) was adopted by the Government in the House of Commons; read a first time on 5th June 1888; second time, 10th July; third time, 23d July; Royal assent, 7th Aug. In the House of Lords the credit of moving the second reading rests with *Lord Herschell* (16th Feb.) But on behalf of the Government the *Lord Chancellor* expressed his approval of the bill, and considered that it would be valuable as removing some things which were objectionable in the power of distress.

Lord Hals-
bury on
the Law of
Distress
Bill, Feb.
16, 1888.
Hansard,
Feb. 1888.

CHAPTER V.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS: LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1888.

Previous
attempts
at legis-
lation.

PREVIOUS to Mr Sclater-Booth's bill, introduced under Lord Beaconsfield's administration in 1878, very little had been done towards a reform of the system of county government. Mr Booth's bill failed to pass, and the next attempt of any importance was made by Sir Charles Dilke in 1883. But the Gladstone Government of 1880-1885 had not much time to devote to the improvement of local self-government. The Egyptian difficulty, and nightly conflicts with the Irish members in the House of Commons, rendered it impossible to proceed with any social legislation.

At Newport, in Oct. 1885, Lord Salisbury undertook that the Conservative party would deal with the reform of the existing system; and as soon as possible after his accession to office, the Government fulfilled that promise. The Queen's Speech,

at the opening of Parliament in 1887, contained this paragraph: "Bills for the improvement of local government in England and Scotland will be laid before you, and should circumstances render it possible, they will be followed by a measure dealing with the same subject in Ireland."

Queen's
Speech,
Jan. 27,
1887.

The session of 1887, however, was devoted to the Allotments and Coal Mines Regulation Acts, and the great measure which was to provide new machinery for the administration of our county affairs was postponed till the next year. Nevertheless a bill of some importance, the Local Government (Boundaries) Act, was read a second time in the House of Commons, on Aug. 29, 1887, on the motion of *Mr Ritchie*. It received Royal assent on Sept. 16. This bill appointed commissioners to "inquire and report as to the boundaries of certain areas of local government." Many alterations of existing boundaries were effected by this measure, the commissioners acting in agreement with the local authorities upon such matters.

Local Gov-
ernment
(Bound-
aries) Act.
Royal
Assent,
Sept. 16,
1887.
50 & 51
Vict. c. 61.

The Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament, on Feb. 9, 1888, foreshadowed the Local Government Bill. "Your attention will be invited to the subject of local government in England, and measures will be submitted to you dealing with it, in combination with proposals for adjusting the relations between Local and Imperial finance, and for mitigating the burdens at present imposed upon the ratepayers."

Queen's
Speech,
Opening of
Parlia-
ment, Feb.
9, 1888.

On the 19th of March, *Mr Ritchie* made an admirable speech in introducing the measure in the House of Commons, and it was mainly due to his perseverance and ability that it became law. *Mr Ritchie* said that "the *judicial* work of county magistrates would be left untouched, but new central county councils would take over all their existing administrative powers. The management of the police in counties would be transferred to a joint

Mr
Ritchie,
House of
Commons,
Mar. 19,
1888.
Hansard,
Mar. 1888.

committee of quarter sessions and the county council; but the appointment of chief constable would remain with the quarter sessions. The county council would have a concurrent authority with the existing sanitary authorities, and would also have to contribute towards the cost of maintaining indoor paupers. It would be able to make advances to emigrants when proper guarantees for repayment are given. The Privy Council would have power from time to time to confer upon the county council additional duties, administrative and not judicial. Referring to the question of area, constitution, election, and duration, he explained the proposals in detail. Liverpool and certain other large towns would be constituted counties, and a distinction made between boroughs of more than 10,000 inhabitants and those with a less population. In addition to the county council there would be district councils in the county, to take the place of local boards and rural and urban sanitary districts. London, as defined under the Metropolis Management Act, would be made a county by itself, with a separate lord lieutenant, and a separate commission of the peace. The council for London would be elected as in the counties, and take over the same duties; and the Metropolitan Board of Works would cease to exist, and the control of the police would remain under the Home Office. The City would remain the same as a quarter sessions borough, continuing to exercise most of its present functions, but its administrative duties would be transferred to the county council of London. The county would be divided into licensing divisions, with a licensing committee for each.

In dealing with finance, *Mr Ritchie* said "that the bulk of the grants-in-aid, amounting to £2,600,000, would disappear, and a sum of £5,600,000 would be provided for the counties in substitution thereof. The means of obtaining this would be fully explained

in the Budget. The general financial result would be that in 1888-89 there would be a sum available for the relief of local taxation amounting to £1,700,000, which in 1889-90 would be increased to £3,000,000."

This explanation was received with approval on both sides of the House. Mr Gladstone expressed his willingness to consider the Ministerial proposals in a fair and candid spirit. But it must have been somewhat galling to the Radical party to occupy the position of friendly critics to a Conservative Government, when a measure for extending popular self government was before the House of Commons. It soon became evident that the licensing clauses would meet with determined opposition, and they were the subject of controversy all over the country directly Mr Ritchie's proposals were made public. The second reading was moved by *Mr Ritchie* on April 12th, and *Mr Stansfeld* principally objected to the exclusion of the poor-law system. *Messrs Fowler* and *Rathbone* also tried to find fault with details of the bill. The *Attorney-General* explained that the reason why the subject of poor-law had been excluded was that the difficulties of passing the measure that session were already very great, and the Government were reluctant to overload it.

Second
Reading,
April 12 to
April 20,
1888.

On the 13th of April, *Mr W. H. Smith* moved that the debate on the second reading should have precedence of all other business. The obstructive elements of the Opposition opposed this, but *Mr Gladstone* refused to follow *Mr Labouchere* into the lobby. *Mr W. H. Smith's* motion was carried by 243 to 143.

Motion for
preced-
ence.

The debate on the second reading was carried on by *Messrs Fulton*, *Broadhurst*, and *T. Ellis*. *Mr Long* replied to some criticisms.

April 13.

On the 16th of April, *Mr Courtney* took exception to the financial arrangements, and recommended

April 16.

the system of proportional representation instead of single member districts. *Mr Chamberlain* expressed his opinion that the measure completely fulfilled the pledges of the Government. *Sir Wilfrid Lawson* protested against the liquor industry being fortified and strengthened by the Legislature. *Mr Ritchie* accepted the suggestion to transfer the payment of school fees to the county councils.

April 17. On the 17th, the debate was resumed by *Mr W. S. Caine*, who approved of the bill as a whole, but objected to the licensing clauses. The *Solicitor-General* insisted that upon the construction of the Licensing Acts of 1873 and 1874, it was not competent for justices to refuse the renewal of a licence, except for some special cause personal to the holder. He therefore held that those Acts gave to a licensed victualler a vested interest in his licence, and it was upon this view of the law that the bill had been framed.

Sir Edward Clarke defends Licensing Clauses.

Hansard, April 1888.

The debate on the 19th was not of special interest, but on the 20th April *Sir William Harcourt* warmly approved of the franchise proposed in the bill. *Mr Goschen* considered that there was no reason why all parts of local, including parish, government should not be reformed. The bill was read a second time without a division.

Second Reading, April 20.
In Committee, June 7 to July 19, 1888.

Clergymen qualification.

County Aldermen.

The Committee proceedings lasted from June 7 until July 19. Several amendments, of a more or less frivolous nature, were moved by *Mr Stevenson*, *Mr Conybeare*, and others. On June 8, *Mr Ritchie* assented to *Sir H. James's* amendment, providing that boroughs of 50,000 inhabitants should be constituted as counties. Another amendment by *Mr Scale-Hayne*, enabling clergymen and other ministers of religion to be county councillors, was agreed to. On June 11, *Lord Hartington*, in supporting the clause relating to county aldermen, pointed out that age and experience could not be secured in the

county councils unless the principle of co-optation was adhered to. An amendment was moved by *Mr Allison* to restrict the choice of aldermen to members of the council, but it was negatived by a majority of 47 votes.

On the 12th of June, *Mr Ritchie* made an important statement to the House before going into Committee. The licensing and compensation clauses were perfectly just and equitable in themselves, and the Licensing Acts of 1873 and 1874 left no alternative to the Government. Remembering, however, the other important principles involved in the bill, it would have been impolitic on the part of the Government to risk the existence of the measure for the purpose of pushing through one of its minor details.

Abandonment of Licensing and Compensation Clauses.

Mr Ritchie said: "That in view of the opposition with which the licensing and compensation clauses were threatened, and of the fact that there remained only about two months before the ordinary date for bringing the session to a close, the Government had decided not to ask the House to proceed with those clauses." The Opposition claimed that they had forced the Government to adopt this course. *Sir William Harcourt*, who, as usual, was jubilant at this assumed triumph over the original bill, expressed very different views a few years before, when he was very strongly in favour of compensation. In Committee, on June 12, further amendments were disposed of. *Mr Channing's*, to omit the sub-section providing that casual vacancies in the council should be filled by the council, was agreed to.

Hansard, June 1888.

Committee proceedings continued, June 12.

On June 14, *Mr Heneage* proposed to constitute the chairman an *ex officio* justice of the peace, whether he possessed the proper qualification or not. This was agreed to. More amendments were negatived. On June 15, *Mr Lawson*, *Mr Heneage*, and *Mr Conybeare* moved amendments which were negatived.

Committee, June 14.

Committee, June 15.

They would not have added to the efficiency of the bill.

Commit-
tee, June
18 and 19.

In Committee, on June 18, nothing of consequence happened. But on the 19th *Mr Chaplin* carried an amendment requiring the powers conferred on the county council, previously held by certain Government departments and other authorities, should be transferred by Order in Council. On June 22, amendments excluding school boards and board of guardians were agreed to. In Committee on June 28, an important clause was discussed. *Mr Ritchie* originally proposed to give the county councils power to close public-houses on particular days. He now moved to omit this clause (9), as it failed to recommend itself to any body, either publican or temperance. *Mr Caine*, a well-known advocate for temperance legislation, said that temperance bodies all over the country had declared against it. The *Solicitor-General* pointed out that as the other licensing clauses had been withdrawn, there was no reason for retaining this one. The clause was negatived by 275 to 213 votes. Further amendments were disposed of.

Com-
mittee,
June 29.

In Committee on the 29th June, *Sir Walter Barttelot's* amendment was accepted. It enables a county council to contract with the district council for the maintenance, repair, &c., of main roads, in consideration of an annual payment.

Commit-
tee, July 3.

On July 3, clause 17 (power of county councils to make by-laws) was added to the bill. *Mr Ritchie* then moved an addition to clause 18, providing that licence duties collected in a county should be allocated to that county. A long discussion took place on clause 21. *Sir U. K. Shuttleworth* proposed that in transferring a portion of the probate duty to the councils, the sum should be in proportion to the population, and not the indoor pauperism of respective counties. *Mr Ritchie* thought this would be

most unjust, and the amendment was negatived by 222 to 166.

On July 6, another amendment to the same clause (21) was rejected by the Committee. Committee, July 6 and 9.

On the 9th, *Mr Ritchie* added to the clause (21) the condition that distribution of probate duty should be in proportion to the average number of indoor paupers during the five financial years prior to the 25th of March 1888. *Mr W. James* moved to amend clause 23, by leaving out the payment for poor school boards, under section 97 of the Education Act of 1870. This was agreed to. *Mr Brunner* proposed to amend the first sub-section of clause 24, but *Mr Ritchie* withdrew the sub-section. This and clauses 25 to 28 were then agreed to. Clause 29 provides for the appointment of a joint committee of quarter sessions and the county council for the control of the police. *Mr Conybeare* objected to the presence of aldermen on this committee, but his objection was negatived by 252 to 81 votes. *Mr Ritchie* amended clause 30 by providing that boroughs of 50,000 population shall be treated as counties.

On 10th July, the Committee disposed of clauses 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35. Committee, July 10 and 11.

Clause 36 (application of the Act to London) caused considerable discussion. *Mr James Rowlands* wished to omit selected councillors from the London County Council, and on the 11th of July, *Mr Shaw Lefevre* supported him. This was evidently part of the obstructive programme of the Opposition, as the same subject had already been exhausted on a previous clause. *Mr Long* opposed the amendment, which was rejected by 192 to 148. *Mr Ritchie* said that he proposed to enlarge the membership of the London County Council to twice the number of the parliamentary representatives of existing electoral divisions. This was agreed to.

Com-
mittee,
July 12.

On 12th July, *Mr Matthews*, in justifying the present system of the control of the metropolitan police, said that they had to perform Imperial as well as local functions, and it would be contrary to the practice of all nations to place such a large force of men under local municipal control. Further amendments, moved by *Mr Firth* and *Mr H. Fowler*, were rejected.

Com-
mittee,
July 13.

On 13th July, clause 38, which provides for a paid chairman, and sitting of quarter sessions for London, came on for discussion. *Mr Pickersgill* moved an amendment, transferring the appointment of recorder, common serjeant, and judge of the City of London Court from the corporation to the Crown. This was supported by *Lord R. Churchill* and *Sir Henry James*; and after a short discussion *Mr W. H. Smith* accepted the amendment, and the clause was agreed to.

Clause 39, applying to certain special counties, *Captain Edwards-Heathcote* and *Mr Woodall* asked for special treatment for the Staffordshire Potteries. *Mr Ritchie* promised to deal with the district in a Provisional Order Bill. The clauses relating to district councils (41 to 50) were struck out. The subsequent clauses, dealing with boundaries, constitution of new boroughs, urban districts, unions, &c., were discussed in considerable detail. Clauses 60, 61, and 62 were added to the bill.

Com-
mittee,
July 16.

On 16th July, *Viscount Lymington* moved an amendment (clause 66) to prevent the county council lending money to local authorities in the county, which was carried. Clauses 63, 64, and 65 were added to the bill without amendment. *Mr Ritchie* proposed an additional limit as to the borrowing powers of the council. *Mr Wharton* and *Mr Brunner* moved amendments, which were carried, limiting period for repayment of loans to thirty instead of sixty years.

On 17th July, clauses 67 to 76 were slightly amended and added to the bill. *Baron Dimsdale* moved to insert a provision permitting polls in schools and public rooms, which was accepted. Further verbal amendments by *Sir T. Lawrence*, *Sir W. Barttelot*, *Col. Gunter*, &c., were agreed to.

Com-
mittee,
July 17.

On 18th July, *Mr Ritchie* moved some new clauses, and *Mr Hobhouse* proposed a new clause vesting the appointment of coroner in the county council, which was agreed to ; as was *Sir Lyon Playfair's* proposal as to the proper qualifications of medical officers of health.

Com-
mittee,
July 18.

On 19th July, *Mr A. Williams* and *Mr Firth* moved new clauses, which were negatived by considerable majorities. Several other new clauses relating to localities, or explanatory of various parts of the bill, were agreed to, as likewise were the schedules. The Committee then reported the bill as amended. The bill as amended was considered on July 26, and on the 27th it was read a third time and passed.

Com-
mittee,
July 19.

The House of Lords at once proceeded to consider the bill. It was read a first time on July 27. *Lord Balfour* moved the second reading on the 31st, and the Opposition leaders again expressed their appreciation of the Ministerial proposals. *Lord Monk Bretton* and the *Earl of Kimberley* both approved of the measure, and after a few remarks by *Lord Salisbury* and *Earls Beauchamp*, *Fortescue*, and *Powis*, the bill was read a second time without a division.

Third
Reading,
Commons,
July 27,
1888.
House of
Lords,
Second
Reading,
July 31.

In Committee on Aug. 6, *Lord Basing*, the *Earl of Jersey*, and *Earl Beauchamp* moved amendments, which were negatived ; but on clause 9 *Lord Basing* moved to omit the sub-section, empowering the joint committee of county council and quarter sessions to suspend county constables. This was agreed to.

House of
Lords,
Commit-
tee, Aug. 6.

Various amendments were negatived, and clause 53 omitted.

House of
Lords,
Aug. 8.

On the report of the amendments, several fresh amendments were disposed of, and the bill was read a third time and sent back to the Commons. The Local Government (England and Wales) Act finally received Royal assent on Aug. 13, 1888.

Royal
Assent,
Aug. 13,
1888.

In thus summarising the various stages of the Local Government Act from March 19 to Aug. 13, I have endeavoured to show, not only the progress of the bill, but also with what patience, tact, and skill Mr Ritchie, and other members of the Government, managed to conciliate the House of Commons. It must be remembered that this Act has effected some of the greatest and most remarkable reforms that have ever been carried through Parliament. It dealt with a system which was widespread, and had proved successful. The administration of county affairs by quarter sessions seemed part of the very life of the nation. London, in particular, benefits under the Act. Her first Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Westminster, should be proud of the county over which he has been appointed. To substitute popularly elected bodies like the county councils for such a system, was as great an achievement as the passing of the first Reform Bill of 1832. The power for good which is vested in the county councils is almost incalculable. In London and other great towns they may be instrumental in checking the evils of the "sweating system"; they may provide for the erection of artisans' dwellings, and so carry light and health into many a dismal slum. Their powers of licensing will be the means of purifying the nightly entertainments of our people, and henceforth we may hope to rear healthier, more moral, and better educated citizens to carry on the work and traditions of our empire. Under this Act the sum of £2,500,000 has been given towards the relief of local taxation.

Mr
Goschen,

The ratepayers, moreover, can control the expenditure and policy of their councils, so that with this Imperial relief, their taxation should be considerably lightened. This table shows the nature of the relief which the boroughs and counties in England and Wales enjoy under the Act :—

House of
Commons,
April 15,
1889.
Hansard.

TABLE ISSUED BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD, 1888.

| | Metropolis. | Boroughs. | Counties. | Total. |
|---|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Public-house and other } business licences | 282,000 | 490,000 | 985,000 | 1,757,000 |
| Establishment licences . | 145,000 | 209,000 | 875,000 | 1,229,000 |
| Total licences ¹ transferred | 427,000 | 699,000 | 1,860,000 | 2,986,000 |
| Add new probate duty } grant | 429,000 | 368,000 | 1,003,000 | 1,800,000 |
| Total new local revenue . | 856,000 | 1,067,000 | 2,863,000 | 4,786,000 |
| Deduct subventions dis- } continued | 624,000 | 534,000 | 1,457,000 | 2,615,000 |
| Net gain . | 232,000 | 533,000 | 1,406,000 | 2,171,000 |
| Approximate rateable } value | 30,500,000 | 26,500,000 | 92,000,000 | 149,000,000 |
| Estimated relief per £ . | 1¾d. | 4¾d. | 3¾d. | 3½d. |

¹ Details of licences transferred to local authorities.

| Licence Duties on— | Metropolis. | Boroughs. | Counties. | Total. |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Publicans | 197,700 | 369,900 | 797,700 | 1,365,300 |
| Dealers in spirits, &c. . . | 49,200 | 45,200 | 92,700 | 187,100 |
| Game-dealers | 1,300 | 2,200 | 2,600 | 6,100 |
| Tobacco-dealers | 5,300 | 15,900 | 42,000 | 63,200 |
| Auctioneers, &c. | 28,200 | 56,300 | 50,500 | 135,000 |
| Carriages | 57,600 | 85,200 | 353,300 | 496,100 |
| Arms, servants, and dogs | 74,600 | 95,400 | 347,100 | 517,100 |
| Game and guns | 13,100 | 28,800 | 174,500 | 216,400 |
| Total . | 427,000 | 698,900 | 1,860,400 | 2,986,300 |

Summary
of changes
effected by
Local Gov-
ernment
Act, 1888.

In brief—(1) The Local Government Act, for the first time in the history of this country, gave to the direct representatives of the ratepayers the complete management of local affairs.

(2) The Local Government Act created a central council in London, chosen by the people, to supersede the former Metropolitan Board.

(3) The county councils have control over all local rates. They will maintain the roads and bridges; grant licences; supervise asylums and reformatories; issue regulations respecting allotments, cattle disease, weights and measures, pollution of rivers, and the public health.

(4) The Local Government Act has given to the county councils the proceeds of all licence duties on intoxicating liquors, carriages, dogs, guns, and game, tobacco-dealers, auctioneers, &c.

(5) The Local Government Act has granted to the county councils a large proportion of the probate duty, formerly used by the Imperial authorities for the relief of local taxation.

(6) The Local Government Act has relieved local taxation by £2,500,000 a-year. For particulars see the "Relief of Local Taxation."

(7) The Local Government Act has reduced the poor-rate by 3d. in the £.

For the allocation by Mr Goschen to the county councils of the three-quarters of a million for technical education in 1890, see under that heading.

First
elections
under new
Act, Jan.
and Feb.
1889.
Mar. and
Aug. 1889.

In the first county councils elections, Radical organisations all over the country tried to import party feeling into purely local and administrative matters. This was contrary to the wishes of the leaders of both parties. In the House of Commons, Mr Ritchie, and in the Lords, Lord Salisbury, deprecated making the county council elections party contests. And Mr Gladstone wrote from Naples on Jan. 13, 1889: "I am not sure that it would be

wise to give a political colour to these elections." Lord Rosebery, speaking in London, on Jan. 8, 1889, said: "You are trying so vast an experiment, with so much of your future involved in it, that you would be worse than criminal if you allowed party politics to interfere."

Mr Gladstone and Lord Rosebery.

CHAPTER VI.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS: RAILWAYS.

RAILWAY RATES AND REGULATIONS ACT (1888).

OWING to a system of preferential rates, British manufacturers and producers were for many years placed at a disadvantage as compared with the foreigner. The transit of goods by the water-highway is obviously cheaper than by land, and when the great steamship carriers are able to make terms with railway companies in consideration of their larger trade, the smaller and home producer is practically cut off from the market. These preferential rates have done much to injure our home trade, and small traders who have to meet this tax in the shape of ordinary railway charges are bound to add an enormous percentage to the cost of the commodity before it reaches the purchaser. In the case of live stock and agricultural produce the hardship is no less severe. Of course railway companies are fully justified in levying such rates for the transit of goods as will pay the cost of carriage; but they are not justified in handicapping the home producer by preferential rates and exorbitant charges.

On the 23d of Aug. 1886, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons, intituled the "Railway Freights Bill," its object being to secure equal right of railway freight to the agriculturists and manu-

Railway freights, Aug. 23, 1886.

facturers. This measure never went beyond a first reading. The next effort of the present Parliament also embraced canal traffic.

Railway and Canal Traffic Bill (Lord Stanley of Preston), House of Lords, Feb. 28, 1887.
Lord Stanley of Preston, House of Lords, Mar. 14, 1887.
Hansard, Mar. 1887.

On the 28th of Feb. 1887, in the House of Lords, *Lord Stanley of Preston* presented a bill "for the better Regulation of Canal and other Traffic." The second reading was carried without a division on March 14, 1887. In explaining the objects of the bill, *Lord Stanley of Preston* said: "It reconstituted and perpetuated the Commission of 1873, besides enlarging its powers. There were provisions for a revised classification of traffic and schedule of rates, which would enable the Board of Trade to act in agreement with the railway companies, or if such agreement was found impossible, under the authority of Parliament. The Commissioners would have discretionary powers as to the question of preferential rates. There was to be an appeal from the Commission to the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords, but not on a matter of fact, or from a decision on *locus standi*." *Lord Henniker* and others supported the bill.

In Committee, Mar. 29, 1887.
Third Reading, House of Lords, May 5, 1887.

The bill was considered in Committee on March 29, 1887. *Lord Jersey* moved an amendment to reduce the number of appointed guardians from three to *two*, which was agreed to. The further proceedings in Committee on April the 1st and 29th, 1887, are not of special interest; but on the third reading (May 5, 1887) *Lord Selborne* moved an amendment to clause 25, which dealt with *undue preference*, by inserting these words: "Provided that the Court or Commissioners shall have power to direct that no higher charge shall be made to any person for services in respect of goods carried over a less distance than is made to another person for similar services in respect of the same description and quantity of goods carried over a greater distance on the same line of railway."

This amendment, which was agreed to, would have provided against preferential rates, and fair play would have been given to native produce; but unfortunately, owing to the pressure of other business, *Mr W. H. Smith*, in the Commons, had to announce the abandonment of this bill, which had been passed and sent down from the House of Lords.

1887 bill
with-
drawn in
Commons.

The interest taken in the regulation of railway rates continued to increase during the autumn and winter of 1887—Lord Salisbury and other Ministerial speakers making frequent allusions to it; and the country seemed particularly anxious that legislation should put an end to the system of preferential rates.

Interest
increasing
in the
country,
1887-88.

In 1888 (Feb. 9), the Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament contained the following reference: "You will be invited to consider legislative proposals . . . for preventing undue preferences in the rates charged by railway companies on foreign and domestic produce." This was evidently a serious pledge on the part of the Government, for Lord Stanley of Preston lost no time in redeeming it. On the 14th of Feb. 1888, the new bill, this time to be passed into law, was read a first time. *Lord Stanley of Preston* moved the second reading on March 1, and explained the principles of the bill, which are somewhat similar to the 1887 bill, its main objects being—(1) To strengthen the Court of Railway Commissioners; (2) To provide means for dealing with appeals; (3) To give to certain public bodies who had not now that position a *locus standi* before the Commissioners; (4) To provide for the regulation of rates. In the course of the debate on the second reading, *Lord Salisbury* explained that the question of preferential rates would be dealt with in Committee, *Lord Granville*, on behalf of the Opposition, concurring in this arrangement.

Queen's
Speech.
Opening
of Parlia-
ment, Feb.
9, 1888.

Railway
and Canal
Traffic
Bill, Lord
Stanley of
Preston,
House of
Lords, Feb.
14, 1888.

Hansard,
Mar. 1888.

In Committee on March 13, 1888, *Lord Jersey's* amendment was carried, "prohibiting railway companies from making any difference as regards rates and charges in the treatment of British and foreign merchandise." The third reading was carried on March 16, 1888, and the bill sent to the Commons. Read a first time, March 23, 1888. *Sir Michael Hicks-Beach* moved the second reading on May 10. He said that the bill would have the following effect: (1) To reconstitute and make permanent the Railway Commission; (2) To bring canals under similar control to railways, and prevent their acquisition by railway companies; (3) To vest abandoned canals in persons approved by the Board of Trade. The Railway Commission would consist of two permanent members, with a judge of the Supreme Courts of England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, as president, when the court sat in either of the three kingdoms. A conciliation clause would enable traders and directors to settle disputes without going to law; and railway companies would submit a classification of goods and a schedule of rates to the Board of Trade, which, if approved, would be confirmed by Provisional Order, but if objected to, would be brought before a Select or Joint Committee of both Houses. Another clause would prevent undue preference without depriving the public of the advantages of competition.

Bill in
Commons,
Mar. 23,
1888.

Sir
Michael
Hicks-
Beach,
House of
Commons,
May 10,
1888.
Hansard,
May 1888.

Approval
of Opposi-
tion.

May 10,
1888.

House of
Commons,
July 25,
1888.

The Opposition received the bill favourably. *Mr Mundella* made a very fair and friendly speech in its support. *Sir Walter Barttelot* wished that efforts should be made to extend canal communication. The bill was read a second time, and committed to the Standing Committee on Trade. As amended, very few alterations were made. It came before the House on the 25th of July. *Mr Stevenson* objected to a proviso in clause C, which prohibits any difference in the treatment of home and foreign merchan-

dise. He moved to omit this proviso, but fortunately for the value and utility of the measure, both *Sir Michael Hicks-Beach* and *Mr Mundella* were in favour of the whole clause. *Mr Chamberlain* pointed out that it would have the effect of preventing railway companies from giving preference to one port over another. *Mr Stevenson's* amendment was negatived without a division. The other amendments were not important, and the bill received Royal assent on Aug. 10.

Hansard,
July 1888.
51 & 52
Vict. c. 25.

In Nov., Mr Justice Wills was appointed President of the Commission. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, speaking at Bristol (annual banquet, Chamber of Commerce) in May 1889, said: "The working of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act has disappointed some who anticipated that the grievances of all traders would immediately be rectified without the traders being required to take any trouble in the matter themselves. This Act has certainly increased the powers of the Railway Commission. It will cheapen procedure before that Commission. It will diminish appeals from the decision of the Commission. It has given individual traders a chance of associating together in matters affecting their common interests, and for the defence of their interests, thus securing the advantage of united action."

Sir M.
Hicks-
Beach at
Bristol,
May 1889.

On Feb. 10, 1889, the railway companies of the United Kingdom submitted to the Board of Trade a draft classification and schedule of maximum rates. Objections were to be sent in not later than June 3. No less than 1500 reached the Board of Trade from individual traders and trade organisations. The old classification which is to be supplanted is contained in many hundred Acts of Parliament. They usually specify a few articles, leaving all other "wares, merchandise, articles, &c.," to Class V., and so liable to the maximum rates. This is altered by the Act of 1888, and the new classifications enumerate

Working
of the Act,
Feb. to
June 1889.

over 1400 articles ; and whatever may have been the expectation and hopes raised by the passing of the Railway and Canal Traffic Bill, it will at least have the effect of bringing railway companies to reason, for they will naturally avoid the costly litigation which would result from any conflict with the traders.

For section 27, which practically abolishes the system of preferential rates, and the distinction between British and foreign produce, small traders and the commercial classes generally owe a deep debt of gratitude to the present Government.

THE ACT OF 1889.

Passage of
1889 Bill
through
Parlia-
ment.

A further Act, dealing with railway regulations, was introduced by *Sir Michael Hicks-Beach* and *Baron Henry de Worms* on July 30, 1889. Second reading, Aug. 2 ; Committee, Aug. 5 and 6 ; third reading, Aug. 12 ; House of Lords, Aug. 15, 22, 23, and 26 ; Message of Agreement by the Lords to Commons, Aug. 28 ; Royal assent, Aug. 30, 1889.

51 & 52
Vict. c. 57.
Sec. 1.

Section 1 gives the Board of Trade power to order a railway company—(a) to adopt the block system ; (b) to provide interlocking points and signals ; (c) to provide continuous brakes. The Railway Commission appointed under the 1888 Act (*ante*, 51 & 52 Vict. c. 25) may enforce the orders of the Board of Trade.

Sec. 4.
Return of
Overtime
to Board
of Trade.

Section 4 requires that every railway company shall make periodical returns as to persons employed by the company, and of persons who are employed for more than a certain number of hours, as may be named by the Board of Trade.

Secs. 5
and 6.

Section 5 provides that passengers travelling without tickets shall be liable to a fine of 40s.

Section 6 brings about a very useful innovation.

After a date to be fixed by Board of Trade, every passenger ticket issued by a railway company in the United Kingdom shall bear upon its face, printed or written in legible characters, the fare chargeable for the journey for which such ticket is issued. A railway company failing to comply with this section is liable to a fine of 40s. for every ticket issued.

Price to be marked on tickets.

This is one of the numerous unostentatious but exceedingly useful measures passed by the present Government.

CHAPTER VII.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS: THE MANUFACTURER AND PURCHASER.

MERCHANDISE MARKS ACT, 1887.

By no means the least, in point of utility, among the Acts of 1887, is this measure dealing with a species of fraud which had been far too prevalent. The bill was introduced on July 4, 1887. Second reading and Committee, July 8; House of Lords, July 26; Royal assent, Aug. 23.

Passage through Parliament.

Section 2 provides that any person who forges a trade-mark, or applies any false trade description to goods, shall be guilty of an offence, and on conviction, liable to imprisonment and fine.

50 & 51
Vict. c. 28,
sec. 2.

Sections 3, 4, and 5 deal with the forgery of trade-marks, and the various ways in which fraud may be perpetrated, and the penalties for offences.

Secs. 3, 4,
and 5.

Sections 7 and 8 provide that, with regard to watches, the name of the country and maker must be stamped on the case.

Secs. 7
and 8.

Section 16 prohibits the importation of falsely de-

Sec. 16.

scribed goods into the United Kingdom. Formerly it was a frequent practice on the part of foreign manufacturers to stamp their goods with an English name or trade-mark, and thus to mislead the purchaser. Power is given to the Commissioners of Customs to make and administer regulations with respect to the detention and forfeiture of goods fraudulently described. The Act applies to Scotland and Ireland as well as to England and Wales.

**Secs. 21
and 22.**

**Argu-
ments in
favour
of Act.**

In operation the Act has more than satisfied expectations. There have been several prosecutions under it, and the purchaser in every part of the United Kingdom is, to a very great extent, safeguarded against the substitution of inferior and foreign goods for articles purporting to be of English manufacture. Especially among the poorer class of consumers, the Merchandise Marks Act has proved a valuable addition to the Statute-book.

**Select
Commit-
tee on
Merchan-
dise
Marks,
July 30,
1890.**

A select Committee of the Commons was appointed in the session of 1890 to inquire into the subject of Merchandise Marks; *Baron H. de Worms*, M.P. (C.), chairman. At a meeting on July 30, he submitted a draft report on behalf of the Committee, stating that as a result of the careful examination of witnesses, there was a consensus of opinion that the Act of 1887 had been most beneficial to the manufacturing interests in the country, and had greatly diminished the importation of fraudulently marked goods, and of those bearing a false indication of origin.

The Act had been administered without unnecessary harshness. The examination of goods in transit had prevented the importation of goods into this country for the purpose of being falsely marked for transshipment to America, to the detriment of the British manufacturer and workman. There had been no diminution in manufactured imports since the Act came into force.

The only way in which the Act might be made even more useful was in the direction of articles of consumption, which could not be detained because they bear no trade description. The Committee suggested an improvement by making the customs entry (which would bear a description of the imported article) come within the meaning of the Act. They also recommended that power be given to the solicitor of the Board of Trade to prosecute in cases affecting the general interests of the country.

Select
Commit-
tee, 1890.
Amend-
ment Act,
1891.

On the motion of *Mr Mundella*, M.P. (G.L.), who was a member of the Committee, a recommendation was made that there should be an international conference on the model of Rome and Madrid to enforce honest marking in all countries.

MERCHANDISE MARKS (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1891.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach embodied the recommendations of the Committee in a bill which passed through its various stages without much opposition, and received Royal assent on May 11, 1891.

Under this Act "customs entry" relating to imported goods will be deemed a trade description. (See above recommendation by Select Committee.)

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE-MARKS ACT, 1888.

The session of 1888 was productive, *inter alia*, of a useful measure amending the Trade-Marks Act of 1883 (46 & 47 Vict. c. 57).

The bill was introduced by *Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*, and read first time July 25; second reading (on motion *Sir R. Webster*), Aug. 10; third reading, Dec. 6; Royal assent, Dec. 24, 1888.

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment.

51 & 52

Section 1 provides that every patent agent shall

Vict. c. 50.

be registered under the Act. Any one describing himself as a patent agent without being so registered is liable to a fine not exceeding £20.

A new clause is substituted in place of section 7 of the principal Act, which deals with applications for patents. Rules are laid down to ensure a proper description of a patent for which application is made.

The subsequent sections, up to section 10, deal with the registration of patents, inspection of designs, &c.

Section 10 provides that a trade-mark must consist of some distinctive device or heading, &c.

Section 25 deals with the documents, certificates, &c., to be issued by the Board of Trade.

The object of the Act is to simplify the law relating to patents and trade-marks, and to give to the poorer class of inventors protection for the result of their industry. It provides the necessary machinery for the registration of trade-marks, which is bound to prove of value to manufacturers and tradesmen.

THE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES ACT, 1889.

Passage
of Bill
through
Parlia-
ment, Feb.
28 to July
26, 1889.

This very important bill in the interests of the working classes was brought in by *Sir Michael Hicks-Beach* and *Baron Henry de Worms* on Feb. 28; second reading, March 28; reported from Standing Committee on Trade, May 16; considered as amended and third reading, June 3; House of Lords, June 4 to 15; Lords' amendments agreed to in Commons, July 15; Royal assent, July 26, 1889.

52 & 53
Vict. c. 21.

The object of the Act is to prevent fraud, and to ensure that the working classes shall not be cheated in the purchase of their daily food-supply. Section 1 (Part I.) requires that the scales, balances, and mechanical instruments shall be verified and stamped

by an inspector of weights and measures. Until the passing of this Act only weights were stamped, and it is notorious that impositions by means of false scales have been widely practised in centres where our population is most crowded. “Every person who, after the expiration of twelve months from the commencement of this Act, uses, or has in his possession or use, any weighing-instrument not stamped as required by this Act, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding two pounds, or in the case of a second offence five pounds.”

Sub-sec. 2
of sec. 1.

This punishment would be ample in most cases, but section 4 is far more severe with regard to an old offender. “Where a person is convicted of a second or subsequent offence, and the court is of opinion that such offence was committed with intent to defraud, he shall be liable, in addition to or in lieu of any fine, to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding two months.” Likewise the penalty for false weights, scales, balances, &c., is raised to £25 for a second offence. Small provision merchants of dishonest proclivities will no doubt resent this section, and clause 14 should be absolutely fatal to their future operations. “Where a person is convicted before any court of any offence under this Act, the court may, if it thinks fit, cause the conviction to be published in such manner as it thinks desirable.” If a “black list” of cheating tradesmen is made known by the justices and magistrates in each locality, the victims will have themselves to blame if they are imposed upon.

Under section 6 there will be new denominations of standards for the measurement of electricity, temperature, pressure, or gravities, &c. When approved by her Majesty in Council, these new denominations of standards shall be Board of Trade standards.

Section 10, sub-section 1, provides that the Board of Trade may appoint an officer to hold a local in-

quiry with respect to the administration of the law relating to weights, measures, &c., in different localities.

Second Part.

The second part of the Act regulates the sale of coal, and must prove particularly valuable to purchasers of coal in small quantities. No previous statute has laid down any definite rule with regard to such purchase, and the enforcement of these clauses of the Act will be a source of much benefit to the poor in large towns.

Sec. 20.

Section 20 provides that all coal shall be sold by weight, except when the purchaser gives his written consent to receive it by boat-load, waggons, or tubs delivered from the colliery. If a person fails to comply with this rule, he is liable to a fine of £5 for every sale.

Sec. 21.

The next clause should also help to prevent false weight. When coal is delivered by means of any vehicle to a purchaser, if the load exceeds two hundredweight, the seller must deliver a note or ticket setting forth the exact weight of coal, number of sacks, &c., sent to the purchaser. There are further provisions to prevent frauds by the drivers of carts (sec. 23), to impose a fine of £5 for any deficiency in small sales of coal (sec. 24), and to enable the purchaser to require the weighment of coal (sec. 27).

Secs. 23, 24, and 27.

The power to make by-laws is given to local authorities by section 28.

The Act came into operation on Jan. 1, 1890.

Sir M. H. Beach, House of Commons, Dec. 9, 1890.

In reply to a question *Sir M. H. Beach* (C., President Board of Trade), in the House of Commons on Dec. 9, 1890, said that persons who used for trade after Jan. 1, 1891, any weighing instrument not verified or stamped by an inspector of weights and measures would be liable to a fine.

Unless an inspector considered the machine incorrect there would be no interference. With reasonable conduct on the part of local authorities and trades no possible difficulty could arise.

I have already referred to this section (1, Part I.) It came into force on Jan. 1, 1891, and should prove one of the most valuable regulations for the protection of the poorer classes from imposition.

COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) ACT, 1890.

When Mr Goschen's compensation proposals, the Irish Land Bill, and several other proposals of the Government, failed to weather the storm of obstruction during the 1890 session, the Government was accused of having done nothing. But at the end of the session they were able to present to the country a series of useful and practical measures.

The Companies (Winding-up) Bill was read a second time on the motion of *Sir M. H. Beach* (C.) He explained that it proposed to remedy the excessive cost and long delay of the existing system of winding up companies. It would give jurisdiction to county courts and other local courts, as in the case of the bankruptcy of individual debtors.

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment, Feb.
to Aug.
1890.

Sir H. Davey (G.L.), *Mr Warmington* (G.L.), *Sir R. Webster* (C.), and others discussed the bill, which was read a second time and referred to the Standing Committee. Amended by Standing Committee, and read a third time, April 29. Lords—*Lord Balfour* (C.) moved second reading, May 8. Royal assent, Aug. 18, 1890.

There are thirty-five sections in all.

Section 1 gives jurisdiction to wind up companies.

53 & 54
Vict. c. 63.

Section 2 defines the procedure under the High Court as the Lord Chancellor may from time to time by general order direct.

Section 3 deals with the transfer of proceedings from one court to another.

The other sections are framed for the purpose of bringing to a speedy close all proceedings in liquidation, and should enable the creditors of a company to realise their share in the proceeds with the least possible delay or annoyance.

CHAPTER VIII.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS: MERCHANT SHIPPING AND SEAMEN.

It is scarcely necessary to explain the causes which have induced me to include this subject in the "Brief." It is true that the shipping industry is removed from the sphere of party politics, except when it forms the lever by which the socialistic movement seeks to work its way into the heart of society. I have dealt with it from this point of view in the chapter on a Conservative Labour Policy. But I include these Acts in proof of my contention that the legislation of the Government has been a quiet but honest endeavour to benefit all classes, irrespective of party gain.

The merchant navy of this country is, moreover, a national industry of which we may well feel proud.

In 1889 there were 21,779 vessels, with the enormous tonnage of 7,759,008, belonging to the United Kingdom.

The number of men employed has been estimated at more than 200,000. So far, therefore, as legislation can favourably affect such an interest, it is a national duty to pass it into law.

FISHING BOATS ACT, 1887.

Introduced by the following members of the Government, *Baron H. de Worms* (C.), *Mr Jackson* (C.), and *Sir H. Maxwell* (C.), Feb. 15, 1887; second reading, March 14; House of Lords, April 22; Royal assent, April 28.

Passage through Parliament, Feb. to April 1887.
50 Vict. c. 4.

The objects of the Act are to safeguard the interests of the skipper and men.

When paid by a share in the catch (sec. 6), the owner has to render a full and true account showing the amount for which the fish have been sold.

Summary of Act.

Section 7 gives a person who has served more than twelve months a "certificate of service" from the Board of Trade.

Section 10 provides certain regulations restricting the conveyance of fish so as not to endanger the life or comfort of the men.

Section 12 gives the Board of Trade power to hold an inquiry into any loss of life or casualty which may occur; a most useful provision in the interests of the men. Altogether this is an admirable Act.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (MISCELLANEOUS) ACT, 1887.

During the same session (1887) the Government introduced another Act through *Baron H. de Worms* and *Mr Jackson* (C.) Second reading, Sept. 3; Lords, Sept. 16; Royal assent, Sept. 16.

Passage through Parliament, Sept. 1887.
50 & 51 Vict. c. 62.
Summary of Act.

This empowers the governor of any British possession or colony to give directions for the examination and registration of ships visiting the colony, in accordance with the various Merchant Shipping Acts.

NORTH SEA FISHERIES ACT, 1888.

A convention met at Hague in 1887, when the condition of the seamen employed in whaling and other fishing industry was the subject of discussion. The liquor traffic in the North Sea had been the cause of much evil and suffering. The Hague Convention desired to restrict it as far as possible. This Act gives effect to the action of the convention by imposing penalties on British subjects who sell, supply, or exchange spirituous liquors to persons belonging to sea-fishing boats. It imposes penalties with a view to prevent the purchase of liquors by British seamen in exchange for articles not belonging to them. The liberty to deal at sea with fishermen, in provisions and other articles, will in future be controlled by licences.

51 & 52
Vict. c. 19.
Summary
of Act.

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment,
June to
July 1888.

The bill was brought in by *Sir Michael Hicks-Beach* and *Baron Henry de Worms*, and read first time on 4th June 1888; read second time, 7th June; third time, and passed, 15th June; House of Lords, second reading, 21st June; third reading, 3d July; Royal assent, 5th July.

MERCHANT SHIPPING AND SAVING LIFE AT SEA ACT, 1888.

Several attempts have been made of late years to mitigate the perils which our merchant seamen are compelled to undergo. The proposal to extend the Employers' Liability Act to seamen, which was made during the autumn (1888) session, would have been a desirable addition to this class of legislation, but unfortunately the obstruction of Mr Broadhurst and his Radical friends effectually put a stop to the progress of that Act through Parliament. But in 1887 a Life Savings Act was passed by the Government, which is bound to improve the prospects of saving life at sea.

Summary
of Act.

Owners and masters are compelled to satisfy themselves that ships are provided with such boats, life-jackets, and other appliances best adapted for securing the safety of crew and passengers. A committee to be nominated by the President of the Board of Trade from appointed representatives of shipowners, builders, seamen, and underwriters, will prepare and advise on the rules to be adopted under the Act. A penalty of £100 is imposed on shipowners convicted of a breach of the rules, and £50 upon masters. In order to enforce compliance, a surveyor may be appointed to inspect ships, and report defects to the owner. Unless these defects are remedied, the collector of customs is authorised to refuse to clear the defaulting vessel.

The bill was brought in (House of Lords) on 15th March, by the *Earl of Onslow*, Parliamentary Secretary to Board of Trade; read second time, 22d March; third time, 15th May. In the House of Commons the bill was read first time on 11th June; committed to Standing Committee on Trade, 23d July; read third time, 6th Aug.; Royal assent, 10th Aug.

Passage of bill through Parliament, March to Aug. 1888.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (PILOTAGE) ACT, 1889.

Introduced by *Sir M. H. Beach* (C.) and *Sir J. Gorst* (C.) Second reading, May 31; committed to Standing Committee on Trade, June 18; reported as amended, Aug. 17; Lords' message of agreement, Aug. 30; Royal assent, Aug. 30.

Passage through Parliament, May to Aug. 1889.

The regulations as to pilotage have always given rise to some difference of opinion. In Swansea, previous to my contest in Nov. 1885, a deputation of pilots explained their views and grievances to me, and I must admit they deserved both sympathy and redress.

While this bill was still before Parliament, the

sixth annual meeting of the Pilots' Association was held at the Cannon Street Hotel, London (June 18, 1889). The views then expressed by the representatives from the principal ports of the kingdom, led to some valuable additions being made to the bill, and it has done much to remove the pilot's disabilities.

52 & 53
Vict. c. 68.
Summary
of Act.

The Act enables the Board of Trade to provide for the direct representation of pilots and ship-owners on the pilotage authority of a district.

The pilotage authority has power to suspend or dismiss pilots for offences under the Merchant Shipping Act, subject to an appeal to the county court judge, who is to act as a nautical assessor.

In a compulsory pilotage district a master of a ship will be subject to a penalty if he employs an unqualified pilot.

TONNAGE ACT, 1889.

Tonnage
Act, 1889.

The next Act, "Merchant Shipping Tonnage," amended the law relating to the measurement of the tonnage of merchant ships. Introduced by *Sir M. H. Beach* (C.) and *Baron H. de Worms* (C.) Second reading, April 4, 1889; Lords, Aug. 13; Royal assent, Aug. 26.

It is not necessary to describe this Act at any length, as it deals with a technical matter.

CHAPTER IX.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS: THE WORKING CLASSES.

MR DISRAELI'S Government of 1874 has been described as the most popular administration that ever held office with regard to the working class legislation. It is true that a large number of Acts were passed dealing with public health and other matters of interest to large centres of population. But the present Government are not far behind the 1874-80 record.

Most of the measures which I have cited might be termed working class legislation; and the Queen's Speech, Nov. 25, 1890, promised an Employers' Liability and Public Health Consolidation Act. These, with the Ministerial proposals in Dec. 1888, when, unfortunately, the factious opposition of Mr Broadhurst and other Gladstonians prevented the passing of a previous Employers' Liability Act (which was approved by the late Mr Bradlaugh), would have formed even a more complete programme. It was not the fault of the Government that this bill did not become law. However, a great deal has been done; and Mr Matthew's Factories Act gave a finishing touch to the work of the Government.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT, 1887.

Introduced by *Mr Jackson* (C.) and *Mr Goschen* (Chancellor of the Exchequer). Second reading, Aug. 8, 1887; House of Lords, Aug. 19; Royal assent, Sept. 19, 1887.

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment, Aug.
to Sept.
1887.
50 & 51
Vict. c. 56.

An amendment of the principal Friendly Societies Act, 1875. Every registered society is enabled to

Summary of Act. become a branch of another society for the purpose of mutual support, and to contribute to the assistance, financial or otherwise, of other societies.

SAVINGS TRUSTEE BANKS ACT, 1887.

Passage through Parliament, July to Sept. 1887. Introduced by *Mr Jackson* (C.), *Mr Goschen* (C.), and *Mr W. H. Smith* (C.) Second reading, July 25; third reading, Aug. 5; Lords, second reading, Aug. 19; amended in Committee, and referred to Commons, Aug. 30; Lords' amendments and Commons' amendments thereto agreed to by both Houses, Sept. 16; Royal assent, Sept. 16.

50 & 51 Vict. c. 40. Summary of Act. The Act, which is designed to encourage thrift among the small investors who make use of the Post Office Savings Banks, contains thirteen sections.

The minimum amount (sec. 5) of Government stock that may be invested is reduced from ten pounds to an amount to be fixed under the Act from time to time.

The remaining sections give the Postmaster-General power to make regulations and define further conditions for Government annuities, &c.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890.

Lord Cross's Acts, and the Housing of the Poor Act, 1885, belong to a period anterior to the formation of the present Government. But Lord Salisbury is closely identified with the first movement towards improving the dwellings of the working classes, and the Act of 1890 was a worthy termination to many years of toil in this direction.

Lord Salisbury in 1884. As far back as 1884, Lord Salisbury, in an admirable article in one of the monthly periodicals, drew attention to the sufferings of the dwellers in the "slums" of our large cities, and particularly London.

A Commission was shortly afterwards appointed, which led to the Act of 1885, which the Conservative Government formed in June 1885 succeeded in placing upon the Statute-book.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the various cases of appalling wretchedness which were brought to light. Our slums are bad enough at the present day, but a vast improvement has been effected. I observed in my first edition that fresh legislation was not so much required as the enforcement of existing laws. For instance, there were the "Torrens Acts"; "Cross's Acts"; the Housing of Working Classes Act, 1885; Metropolis Management Act, 1855; Sanitary Act, 1860; Nuisances Removal Act, 1855, &c. All these had to be consulted.

During the passage of the final stages of the bill through the Commons, *Mr Ritchie* was congratulated by two Gladstonians who are undoubtedly authorities upon such questions—Sir W. Foster and Sir L. Playfair.

Sir W. Foster (G.L.) said the right hon. gentleman was to be congratulated upon this greatly improved bill. The measure had been made more imperative upon local authorities, which was an advantage.

Sir L. Playfair (G.L.) also congratulated Mr Ritchie upon the bill generally, and the amount of consolidation which it had effected.

Last, but by no means least, that uncompromising critic of the Government, the 'Daily News,' wrote:—

"Mr Gladstone in his last Mid-Lothian speech gave just and generous credit to the President of the Local Government Board for the Act establishing County Councils. Another Act for which Mr Ritchie is also responsible, but which received the

**Sir W.
Foster.**
July 21,
1890.

**Sir Lyon
Playfair.**
Commons,
July 21,
1890.
Hansard.
Daily
News,
Oct. 29,
1890.

cordial support of the Liberal party, is the latest plan for raising the condition of the East-end.

“The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, is not indeed an original measure. It partly consolidated and partly amended the law. . . . The public will be glad to learn upon the highest authority that the municipal executive of the metropolis need no longer sit helpless and hopeless before a question which is the despair of the individual philanthropist. Lord Salisbury . . . said that the way to diminish crime was to diminish poverty. That insufficient accommodation produces the worst forms of immorality, no human being can doubt.”

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment,
April to
July 1890.
53 & 54
Vict. c. 70.
Summary
of Act.

The bill was introduced by *Mr Ritchie* (C.), and read a third time July 21. Lords—*Lord Cross* (C.) moved the second reading, which was carried, and the bill referred to the Standing Committee on Law, July 25; read a third time, August 8; Royal assent, August 18.

By section 21, in case of action under Cross's Acts, compensation to expropriated owners, formerly subject to deduction in respect of rental enhanced by overcrowding or in respect of the cost necessary to abate nuisance arising *from overcrowding*, is now to be subject *also* to deduction in respect of rental enhanced by reason that a house is “used for illegal purposes” (*e.g.*, prostitution), and in respect of the cost necessary to abate nuisance *of any kind* arising from the condition of the house, and in respect of defective sanitation or repair of the house; and moreover,

By section 21 (2 c.), where it is proved that “premises are unfit for human habitation,” the owner's compensation shall be limited to “the value of the land and the materials of the buildings thereon.”

By sections 33 and 34, in case of proceedings

under the Torrens group of Acts, where an owner of a dwelling found unfit for habitation fails to execute the required improvements the local authority *must* order or carry out at the owner's expense the demolition of the buildings. Previously to this they can take summary proceedings to have the dwelling "closed," and can (at the owner's expense) make an allowance to the tenants on account of their expenses in removing.

By section 92 the power of proceeding under Torrens' Act is for the first time given to *rural* sanitary authorities.

In London, under an Act of 1879, the failure of a vestry or district board to proceed under Torrens' Acts could be represented to the Metropolitan Board of Works—now the London County Council—who might supersede the discretion of the vestry or district board, and act for them at their expense. By section 45 of the new Act, the discretion of the rural sanitary authorities may be similarly superseded by their county councils.

By section 39, an additional kind of scheme, of a parochial rather than metropolitan kind, is devised, whereby the lesser "local authorities," which include vestries and district boards in London and rural sanitary authorities elsewhere, may at their expense acquire and clear the sites of demolished buildings, as well as adjoining land, (*a*) where they resolve that it would benefit the health of the inhabitants of houses neighbouring to any house ordered to be demolished, "if the area of the dwelling-house of which such building forms part were used for all or any of the following purposes, that is to say, either (i) dedicated as a highway or open space, or (ii) appropriated, sold, or let for the erection of dwellings for the working classes, or (iii) exchanged with other neighbouring land which is more suitable for the erection of such dwellings, and on exchange will be

appropriated, sold, or let for such erection ;” or (b) where it appears that “the closeness, narrowness, and bad arrangement or bad condition of any buildings, or the want of light, air, ventilation, or proper conveniences, or any other sanitary defects in any building is dangerous or prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants either of the said buildings or of the neighbouring buildings, and that the demolition or the reconstruction and rearrangement of the said buildings or of some of them, is necessary to remedy the said evils, and that the area comprising those buildings,” &c., is too small to be dealt with as an unhealthy area under Cross’s Acts. By section 46 such schemes may in London be contributed to by the county council, or by them undertaken over the heads of the vestry or district board at metropolitan expense.

By section 41 the new principles of restricted compensation, similar to those of section 21 above described, are applied to all taking of land by the lesser local authorities to remove “obstructive” buildings, or in execution of parochial schemes under section 39.

By section 38 four householders, as well as a medical officer, may set the local authority in motion to remove obstructive buildings. And the owner of land taken for such a purpose can no longer insist on his entire holding being taken.

By section 88 the penalty is increased from £20 to £50 for members of a local authority voting on questions relating to property in which they are personally interested, and is now, for the first time, enacted against members of London vestries and district boards, and against provincial county councillors and sanitary authorities, besides affecting, as heretofore, London county councillors and town councillors in boroughs.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS ACT, 1891. 81

PUBLIC HEALTH (LONDON) LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1891.

On Feb. 26 leave was obtained to introduce this bill. In moving the second reading, *Mr Ritchie* (C.) explained that there were two bills, their object being the consolidation and improvement of the public health of London.

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment, Feb.
to Aug.
1891.
House of
Commons,
April 7.

The bill extended the provisions with regard to hospitals, and could summarily abate nuisances of any description, and dealt with offensive trades, cleansing the streets, underground rooms, &c. It consolidates the provisions of some thirty statutes, and establishes a complete code of public health law for the metropolis.

Considered in Commons as amended by Committee on Law, and read a third time June 26. Lords.—In moving second reading, which was carried without a division, *Lord Cross* explained that this measure would consolidate and amend the law which, as it affected public health in London, was contained in no less than twenty-nine Acts of Parliament. The Public Health Act of 1875, which contained many useful provisions applicable to the country, did not apply to London. The present bill would greatly improve the health of the metropolis. Report stage, July 23; third reading, July 27; Royal assent, Aug. 5.

Lord
Cross,
House of
Lords, July
7, 1891.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS ACT, 1891.

In moving the second reading *Mr Matthews* explained that the bill would enforce the sanitary regulation of workshops and factories. By clause 8 the inspector would be empowered to suggest a proper system of ventilation. Hours of work for women in future would be twelve, with an allowance of an hour and a half for meals.

Mr H.
Matthews,
Home
Secretary.
Feb. 26,
1891.
Hansard,
Feb. 1891.

The bill also dealt with safety from fire, &c.

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment,
1891.

Second reading carried without a division, Feb. 26; considered in Commons as amended by Grand Committee, June 18; third reading, June 19. Lords. —Lord De Ramsey moved second reading, which was carried without a division, June 29. Lords' Committee, July 13 and 23, several amendments carried; third reading (Lords), July 24.

Aug. 3, 1891, *Mr Matthews* moved to disagree with the Lords' amendment, leaving sanitary inspection of workshops to the local sanitary authority instead of placing it under inspectors appointed by the county councils.

Sir H. James moved a proviso, which was added, to the effect that any one who should solicit or procure a person engaged in a factory to disclose particulars of the work, should be liable to a fine of £10.

Royal assent, Aug. 5, 1891.

Summary
of Act.

It deals with the evils of the sweating system, and provides special rules against

1. Dangerous machinery.
2. Unhealthy premises.
3. Defective ventilation.
4. Defective means of escape from fire.

The Home Secretary is empowered to enforce sanitary provisions in the case of default of local authority.

The powers of inspectors are increased, and the age of half-timers is raised to eleven years.

CHAPTER X.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS: EDUCATION.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION ACT, 1889.

THE progress of education during the present Parliament has been unusually satisfactory. The Intermediate Education Act passed for Wales, although introduced by *Mr Stuart Rendel*, was cordially supported by the Government, and indeed it was very similar to the Intermediate Education Bill introduced by a Conservative member for a North Wales constituency, *Mr George Kenyon*. But the Technical Instruction Act was wholly a Government measure, and it is calculated to work well in the direction of increasing the available amount of skilled labour.

The bill was introduced by *Sir William Hart Dyke*, *Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*, and *Mr Jackson*. Read first time, July 24, 1889. *Sir William Hart Dyke* moved the second reading on Aug. 1, explaining the chief provisions of the bill, and the power of local authorities to make a rate not exceeding a penny in the £. Second reading carried Aug. 14. In Committee on Aug. 26. *Mr Channing* (G.I.) moved an amendment intrusting the school board, where one exists, instead of the local authority, with the duty of providing for technical education. This was negatived by 80 to 26. *Mr E. Robertson* (G.L., Dundee) moved an amendment to give the control of technical education to the Education Department instead of the Science and Art Department. This was negatived by 82 to 21. On Aug. 27, *Sir William Hart Dyke* agreed to an amendment moved by *Mr H. Wilson*, with an addition of his own, dealing with the proportion of aid to be given. On Aug. 28 the bill was recommitted, in respect of a new clause apply-

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment,
July 24 to
Aug. 30,
1889.
Hansard,
Aug. 1889.

ing the Act to Ireland. In the Lords the bill was
 52 & 53 read a first time, Aug. 28 ; second and third time,
 Vict. c. 76. and passed, Aug. 29 ; Royal assent, Aug. 30, 1889.

Sec. 1. Section 1 gives power to the local authority to
 Sub-secs. supply or aid the supply of technical or manual instruction, as it may deem expedient. Subject to certain restrictions—

(a) Such aid shall not be given to scholars receiving instruction at an elementary school.

Religious freedom. (b) It shall not be required of any scholar receiving instruction under this Act that he shall attend or abstain from any place of religious worship.

(c) In order to ensure that no formulary of any particular denomination be taught, lessons on religious subjects, prayers, &c., shall be conveniently arranged to allow the withdrawal of scholars.

(f) If any question arises as to the sufficiency of provision, the qualification of a school, the amount to be allotted to each school, or the mode in which the local authority is to be represented on the governing body of a school, it shall be determined by the Science and Art Department. Provided that no provision out of a rate raised in pursuance of this Act shall be made to any school conducted for private profit.

(g) The amount to be raised by a local authority for the purposes of this Act shall not exceed one penny in the £.

Nothing in the Act shall interfere with any existing powers of school boards, with respect to technical and manual instruction.

Sec. 2. Section 2 empowers any school board or local authority, should they see fit, to institute an entrance examination for persons desirous of attending technical schools or classes.

Section 3 lays down the conditions on which parliamentary grants are to be made, which are to

be contained in the minutes of the Science and Art Department in force for the time being.

Section 4 defines the expression "local authority" as meaning the council of any county or borough, and any urban sanitary authority, within the meaning of the Public Health Acts. It also defines the local rate. Sub-sections 3 and 4 deal with the power of the local authority to borrow under the Local Government Act, 1888, and the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, &c. **Sec. 4.**

Sections 5 and 6 deal with the audit of accounts.

Section 7 applies the Act to Ireland upon similar terms as to England and Wales, but reference is made to the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, instead of the more recent Acts. **Sec. 7. Application of Act to Ireland.**

Section 8 explains the meaning of "technical instruction." It includes instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and any special branch of science and art, useful in specific industries or employments, modern languages, commercial and agricultural subjects, &c. "Manual instruction" means instruction in the use of tools, processes of agriculture, modelling in clay, wood, or other material, &c. **Definition of technical instruction.**

The Act is not applied to Scotland. A Scotch Technical Education Act was passed in 1887. (See Scotland.)

"The various needs of localities must be met by a variety of methods," writes the National Association for the Promotion of Technical Education. Under this Act it will be within the power of each locality, which is the centre of any particular trade or industry, to establish a school to teach the scientific principles of that trade. And it is in this principle that the great advantages of the Act are chiefly concentrated. The Government have made the first step towards diminishing an evil which threatened, at one time, to **Arguments in favour of Act.** **Value of technical education.**

**Skilled
labour in
demand.**

paralyse and ruin the commercial prospects of this country. The market was glutted with unskilled labour. Half the unemployed could not obtain work, simply because they were unskilled labourers, and it must be remembered that we must include in this category an estimated population of no less than 5,000,000. On the other hand, skilled labour is always in demand. No workman who has been taught a trade need starve or want for employment.

From a return of trades-union societies in 1887, only 11,260 skilled artisans during the year were out of employment.

**Board of
Trade Re-
port, 1889.**

In 1889, skilled labour, according to the Board of Trade report, was in greater demand than during the preceding years. The societies making returns included 205,246 members, and the proportion of unemployed was only 18 per thousand men, which, allowing for sickness, &c., is a remarkably small percentage.

From the Board of Trade Report, February 1891, it appeared that only 8068 men were unemployed at the beginning of that year. The report refers to twenty-one societies with a membership of 239,080 men, representing the principal skilled industries.

**Results to
be desired.**

The report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, issued in 1884, recommended that one of the elementary subjects to be taught in all standards should be drawing, including mechanical drawing. In these days of modern machinery, we pay far too little attention to the science of mechanics. Our unskilled workmen have yet to learn the benefits of machinery, and that when machinery takes the place of human labour, it need not lessen the wage of the workers, or deprive them of work. On the contrary, by the superiority of their education, machinery would simply be a welcome agency, which

they could direct and control. In every industry it would be the means of performing the drudgery of labour. It should bring to our toilers increased wages for better work, and relief from those insufferably long hours, which stunt the mental and physical growth of the population of industrial centres. If ever this is realised, the members of the present Government can always point with justifiable pride to the initiative taken by them in their Act of 1889.

MR GOSCHEN'S GRANT IN AID OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION, 1890.

On July 21, 1890, *Mr Goschen* in the House of Commons proposed that the amount (£743,200) set free by the abandonment of the licensing clauses should go to the county councils, with an intimation that new charges might be put upon them with reference to intermediate, technical, and agricultural education.

**Mr Goschen,
House of
Commons
July 21,
1890.**

£50,000 fell to the share of Scotland.

£40,000 fell to the share of Ireland, to be utilised for intermediate education.

The Local Taxation Act, 1890, introduced by *Mr Ritchie*; Royal assent, Aug. 18, 1890. This Act carried out Mr Goschen's proposals.

**53 & 54
Vict. c. 60.**

On Dec. 5, 1890, *Lord Hartington* (L.U.) presided at the Technical and Secondary Education Association's meeting. He said: "The Act of 1890 was the first recognition by Parliament that technical education was a fitting subject of direct public support. In reply to a question the previous night, Mr Goschen had said that if the county councils set themselves heartily to work, as they appeared to be doing, to use the grants for important educational purposes, Parliament would be unlikely to divert those grants. He (Lord Hartington) hoped they would take prompt action."

**Confer-
ence of
County
Councils
with
Technical
Education
Associa-
tion, Dec.
5, 1890.**

Secretary's
Report.

The Secretary's report on the Technical Instruction Act and Local Taxation Act stated that thirty-one counties and twenty-seven county boroughs in England were availing themselves either wholly or in part of the power to vote money for educational purposes. The Welsh counties and county boroughs might be said to be devoting almost the whole of the new fund to education.

The Conference (which represented the county councils from all parts of the country) on the proposal of *Lord Hartington* passed the following resolution: "That this Conference, with a view of securing the permanence of the grant, urges the assistance of existing institutions for technical instruction, the foundation of new ones, the provision of scholarships, &c."

Sir W.
Hart-
Dyke,
House of
Commons,
May 4,
1891.
Hansard,
May 1891.

Up to May 1891, twenty county councils and twenty-nine county boroughs applied the whole share of the residue to technical education; nine county councils and two county boroughs had made a grant of nearly the whole amount.

EDUCATION CODE (1890) ACT, 1890.

Third reading, July 11; Royal assent, July 25, 1890.

53 & 54
Vict. c. 22.

Section 1 provides that a grant may be made to evening schools in which other subjects as well as elementary education are taught.

Summary
of Act.

Section 2 provides for special grants in addition to ordinary parliamentary grants.

The improvements effected under the educational policy of the Government include a fixed grant of 13s. 6d. per scholar in each efficient school. Manual instruction, including agriculture, and the practical science involved in our principal industries, are being

taught; a result which will enable this country to hold its pre-eminence among the industrial nations of the world.

FREE EDUCATION.

In my first edition I stated that the principle of free education having been conceded in the case of Scotland, it would be impossible for the Government to decline to extend it to the rest of the United Kingdom.

On April 23, 1891, Mr Goschen announced in his Budget speech that his surplus would be utilised for the purpose of freeing completely the elementary standards both in voluntary and board schools. The Gladstonians received this announcement almost with dismay, as the granting of free education by the Government has left them practically without a programme. The point insisted upon by the supporters of the Government was that the invaluable work of voluntary schools should be recognised, and accordingly the Free Education Bill gave equal consideration to them as to the board schools.

Free
Education
Budget,
April 23,
1891.

Voluntary
schools.

The following table will show the work of voluntary schools as compared with board schools:—

ACCOMMODATION.

Accommo-
dation and
attend-
ance.

| Day Schools, Year ended August 31st. | 1888. | 1889. | 1890. |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Church | 2,597,396 | 2,621,100 | 2,651,078 |
| British, &c. . . . | 409,600 | 412,277 | 416,253 |
| Wesleyan | 212,010 | 214,240 | 214,819 |
| Roman Catholic | 328,067 | 334,032 | 341,953 |
| Board | 1,809,481 | 1,858,792 | 1,915,182 |
| | 5,356,554 | 5,440,441 | 5,539,285 |

**Annual
Report
of the
National
Society,
1890-91.**

NUMBER ON THE REGISTERS.

| Day Schools, Year ended August 31st. | 1888. | 1889. | 1890. |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Church . . . | 2,154,935 | 2,166,515 | 2,168,229 |
| British, &c. . . | 330,072 | 331,091 | 329,732 |
| Wesleyan . . . | 173,923 | 176,230 | 174,773 |
| Roman Catholic Board | 248,402 | 251,772 | 255,777 |
| | 1,780,178 | 1,830,229 | 1,875,638 |
| | 4,687,510 | 4,755,835 | 4,804,149 |

AVERAGE ATTENDANCE.

| Day Schools, Year ended August 31st. | 1888. | 1889. | 1890. |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Church . . . | 1,664,076 | 1,678,068 | 1,680,596 |
| British, &c. . . | 253,982 | 256,525 | 254,873 |
| Wesleyan . . . | 130,817 | 132,873 | 131,805 |
| Roman Catholic Board | 188,086 | 190,324 | 193,285 |
| | 1,378,006 | 1,424,835 | 1,457,358 |
| | 3,614,967 | 3,682,625 | 3,717,917 |

CHURCH SCHOOLS.

| | Year ending August 31, 1870. | Year ending August 31, 1890. | Increase. |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|
| Accommodation | 1,365,080 | 2,651,788 | 1,285,988 |
| Average Attend- ance. . . . | 844,334 | 1,680,078 | 836,262 |

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.

Voluntary
contribu-
tions.

| Day Schools, Year ended August 31st. | 1888. | 1889. | 1890. |
|--|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Church . . . | £582,081 10 7 | £582,018 0 2 | £589,640 14 1 |
| British, &c. . . | 81,672 11 2 | 83,130 5 0 | 79,723 5 9 |
| Wesleyan . . . | 15,682 4 5 | 17,191 15 11 | 17,253 1 5 |
| Roman Catholic | 65,903 18 4 | 67,480 4 1 | 70,911 10 9 |
| | £745,340 4 6 | £749,820 5 2 | £757,528 12 0 |

VOLUNTARY EXPENDITURE ON CHURCH SCHOOLS
AND TRAINING COLLEGES.

| | From 1811 to 1870. | Since 1870. | Total. |
|---|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Schools— Building . . | £6,270,577 | £6,845,512 | £13,116,039 |
| Maintenance | 8,500,000 | 12,180,493 | 20,680,493 |
| Training Col- leges— Building . . | 104,085 | 83,310 | 277,395 |
| Maintenance | 185,276 | 284,454 | 469,730 |
| | £15,149,938 | £19,393,769 | £34,543,707 |

In Commons, June 8, 1891, *Sir W. Hart-Dyke* moved "That it is expedient to authorise payment out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, and to make a fee grant in aid of elementary education," &c. He said the Government proposed to offer to every school 10s. on the average attendance of all its children between five and fourteen years of age.

Bill brought in by *Sir W. Hart-Dyke* and read first time, June 9. *Sir W. Hart-Dyke* (C.) moved second

Passage
of bill

through
Parlia-
ment,
June, July,
August,
1891.

Lord Cran-
brook,
July 16,
1891.

reading, June 22 ; debate continued, June 23. Bill supported by *Lord Cranborne*, *Captain Heathcote*, *Mr Collings*, and *Mr E. Stanhope*, supported by *Sir A. Rollit*, June 24 ; second reading carried by 318 to 10 votes. Committee proceedings, June 29 and 30, July 1, 2, 3, 7 ; and third reading, 8. Lords.—*Lord Cranbrook*, in moving the second reading of the Elementary Education Bill, said he could remember when the State made the parsimonious grant of £30,000 for the education of this country. In 1870 voluntary schools numbered 8280 ; in 1889, 14,686 ; and in 1891 they numbered 14,743. From the miserable £30,000, the education grant had gradually increased until it amounted to £3,712,254 ; while the fee grant under the bill would reach £2,000,000 a-year. Altogether the cost of elementary education in this country was nearly £8,000,000. No part of the bill affected the religious position of the schools in this country. The bill was supported by *Lord Spencer* and the *Duke of Argyll*, and read a second time. Committee proceedings, July 20 and 23 ; third reading, July 24 ; Royal assent, Aug. 5.

The following circular, addressed to school boards and school managers, will explain the practical application of the Act :—

“ EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, WHITEHALL,
10th Aug. 1891.

“ SIR,—I am directed to invite your attention to the Elementary Education Act, 1891, which comes into force on the 1st Sept. next, and under which the Education Department are empowered to pay a fee grant ‘at the rate of 10s. a-year for each child of the number of children over three and under fifteen years of age in average attendance at any public elementary school in England and Wales (not being an evening school), the managers of which are willing to receive the same, and in which the Education Department are satisfied that the regulations as to fees are in accordance with the conditions in this Act.’

“ You will note that it is optional for the managers of a public elementary school to accept the fee grant or not, and that a refusal to accept the fee grant from the date at which the

Act comes into force does not bar the managers from accepting it at a later date.

“The first section of the Act provides that the fee grant shall be paid ‘at such times and in such manner as may be determined by regulations of the Education Department.’ The regulations shortly to be issued will provide, *inter alia*, that the fee grant shall be paid by quarterly instalments, the final payment (which may, under certain circumstances, be for less than a quarter) being made together with, and at the same time as, the annual grant. These instalments will run from the 1st Sept. next for those schools which at once come under the operation of the Act, and in other cases from the date (which must be the first day of the month) on which the school comes under the Act.

“It is therefore necessary that the Department should know, at as early a date as possible, what schools accept the fee grant, and I am to request you to be so good as to enter the necessary particulars with respect to your school upon the fly-leaf attached to this letter, and to return it to me at your earliest convenience.

“If the managers of your school intend to accept the fee grant, but are uncertain from what date, question (5) on the fly-leaf to this letter should be answered in that sense, and an application should be made to the Department for the necessary forms when the managers have determined from what date the school will comply with the conditions of the Act.

“The instalments of the fee grant will be paid to the correspondent for the school, or, if a board school, to the treasurer of the school board.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,
G. W. KEKEWICH, *Secretary*.”

CHAPTER XI.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS: FINANCE.

THE SECRET SERVICE REPEAL ACT, 1886.

THE new Parliament, containing a majority of Lord Salisbury's supporters, met on Aug. 19, 1886; and on Aug. 30, *Mr Jackson*, *Mr Akers-Douglas*, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* introduced a bill to repeal the enactments authorising the issue out of

Hansard, Aug. 1886. the Consolidated Fund of money for Secret Service. The bill was read a second time on the 2d Sept.; third time on 3d Sept.; House of Lords, third time, 20th Sept.; Royal assent, 25th Sept.

Effects of Secret Service Repeal Act. For some years there had been a growing feeling in the House of Commons that the annual expenditure of £10,000 under the head of "Secret Service," should be devoted to other purposes. Allegations were made that part of this sum went towards the election expenses of candidates who supported the Ministry in power, and for other corrupt purposes. This Act finally put an end to these rumours by abolishing the payment altogether. Moreover, a saving to the nation of £10,000 per annum has been effected, and it inaugurated the policy of true economy and retrenchment followed out by the Government in all questions of national finance.

THE BUDGET, 1887.

Summary of the 1887 Budget. The financial policy of 1887, of which I shall only give an outline, was an unqualified success. The Budget showed a considerable surplus. A grant was made to local authorities in relief of highway rates. The duty on tobacco was lowered, and the national expenditure reduced to its normal average. In fact, in 1887 commenced that era of general confidence which has prevailed since the present Government came into office, and the revenues of the country have naturally felt the return of prosperity to the country. But it was in the financial year 1887-88 that the effects of a firm and stable administration became more apparent.

THE BUDGET, 1887-88.

Summary of 1887-88 Budget. The expenditure for the year amounted to £87,424,000, being a saving of £612,000 on the

expenditure estimated by Mr Goschen. The revenue was £89,589,000, or £1,454,000 more than the estimate. There was thus an actual surplus of £2,165,000. The National Debt was reduced by £7,601,000, the largest reduction since 1872-73. In addition to this, Mr Goschen was able to provide for the dissentients to his conversion scheme, and to carry forward a surplus to the next financial year. The conversion scheme is dealt with in a separate chapter. The fact that such a reduction of interest was not only carried with few dissentients, but that every kind of approved security is sought after, proves the extraordinary increase of capital and prosperity since 1886.

Mr Goschen,
House of Commons,
Mar. 26, 1888.
Hansard,
Mar. 1888,
also
Statistical Abstract,
and Board of Trade Returns.

THE BUDGET, 1888-89.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer again made a very satisfactory explanation of the national finances for the year. The expenditure amounted to £85,673,872, a saving of £941,072 on his estimate, whereas the revenue for the expiring year was £88,472,812, or £1,646,000 more than his estimate, there being an actual surplus of £2,798,000. The result of Unionist finance for these years can be summed up in the following way:—

Mr Goschen,
House of Commons,
April 15, 1889.

Hansard,
April 1889.

The revenue has exceeded the estimated amount by £4,216,000. Expenditure has decreased by £6,550,000. The National Debt has been decreased by £20,150,000. Income-tax has been reduced by £4,000,000. Tobacco duty has been reduced by £600,000. National defence has received an additional sum of £2,000,000. By the abolition of unnecessary offices, &c., there has been a saving of £109,000. Local rates have been relieved by £2,500,000; and in 1889 by a further sum of £4,177,520. Conversion of Consols has saved £1,400,000 annually.

Mr Goschen's financial policy for three years.
Treasury Returns,
Jan. 1890.

Though these results should give every supporter

of the Government cause for congratulation, the finances of 1890 have surpassed all expectation, and are a veritable triumph for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In order to emphasise the policy to which I have referred, Mr Goschen's own explanation will be found under the next financial year.

THE BUDGET, 1889-90.

Mr
Goschen,
House of
Commons,
April 15,
1889.
Hansard,
April 1889.

On April 15, Mr Goschen introduced his Budget in Committee. He was very justly congratulated upon the prospects for the coming year, and the financial policy which had already proved so successful. In brief, Mr Goschen had effected some remarkable changes.

Reduction
of income-
tax by
£4,000,000.

The income-tax came first. "I have reduced the income-tax by £4,000,000." Such reduction may not be felt by the working classes in the first instance. But indirectly it is all-important. The smaller employers of labour, who reap just sufficient profit to carry on their industry, are particularly affected by the income-tax, and naturally would be able to pay their workmen better wages by the relief afforded in Imperial taxation.

Reduction
of tobacco
duty by
£600,000.

"I have reduced the tobacco duty by £600,000." This again is a boon to our working classes. The consumption of tobacco is so universal that it may be regarded as an article of necessity.

Relief of
local tax-
ation by
£2,500,000.

"I have given £2,500,000 in relief of local taxation." Under the Local Government Act, 1888, probate duty, excise licences, &c., are appropriated by each county for the relief of local rates, and consequently lost to the Imperial revenue.

£2,000,000
extra for
National
Defence.

"I have provided £2,000,000 extra for National Defence." For the financial year 1889-90 alone, the Naval estimates showed an increase of £602,000. Besides which, provision was made for a joint squad-

ron to protect ourselves and colonies, and for the defence of important coaling-stations.

"I have converted £530,000,000 of Consols, securing an annual saving in interest of £1,400,000 at once, and £2,800,000 by-and-by." The Act by which the first conversion was made came into force on March 27, 1888 (51 & 52 Vict. c. 2). By the conversion of the New Three per cent, the Consolidated Three per cent, and the Reduced Three per cent Stocks into *new* stock, bearing interest at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, this vast saving in interest was effected by Mr Goschen. It was a proposal which had often occupied the attention of Chancellors of the Exchequer, but none were able to carry it out until 1888. Mr Goschen's financial abilities have never been questioned, but this is an achievement of which any Ministry might be proud.

**Conversion of
£530,000,000
of Consols.**

"I have been able to pay off more debt during my two financial years than has ever been paid off before in the same time, save on one occasion." The National Debt has been brought below £700,000,000, for the first time in eighty years.

**Decrease
of Nation-
al Debt.**

In dealing with the *estimated* revenue and expenditure for 1889-90, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made some comparisons with 1888-89. He anticipated a decrease in several items, such as Excise and Customs. Mr Goschen very properly preferred to underestimate than to exaggerate the prospects for the year, and it redounds to his credit that the revenue for 1889-90 exceeded his most sanguine expectations. I have placed a tabulated estimate for 1889-90 immediately before the actual revenue.

**Estimated
Revenue
for
1889-90.**

It is all-important to remember that during the nine months 1889-90, there has been a transfer of £3,237,520 from Excise and Stamps to the Local

Taxation Account, as against only £460,000 during the corresponding nine months in 1888-89.

THE BUDGET, 1890-91.

Mr Goschen introduced his fourth budget on April 17, 1890.

The surplus in 1889 amounted to £3,221,001. Revenue, £89,304,316. Expenditure, £86,038,315. The manner in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has disposed of this surplus cannot fail to give satisfaction to the advocates of "a free breakfast-table."

£1,500,000 has been applied to the reduction of the tea duty by 2d. per pound, and Mr Goschen urged the consumers to insist upon this reduction, so that the middle-man may not reap the exclusive benefit.

Again, with regard to house duty. Houses and shops between £20 and £40 will in future be only 2d. and 4d., instead of 6d. and 9d. Houses between £40 and £60, only 4d. and 6d., instead of 6d. and 9d. This is a boon to the poorer householders, and removes, to a great extent, a long-established grievance.

The duty on currants is reduced from 7s. to 2s. per cwt., and a cheap and uniform rate of postage with the Colonies (by a reduction to 2½d.) was established.

THE BUDGET 1891-92.

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Statistical abstract, and Mr Goschen's speech. | Estimated Revenue | £90,430,000 |
| | Estimated Expenditure | 88,444,000 |
| | Surplus | <u>£1,986,000</u> |
| | Devoted to free education | £1,000,000 |
| | To barrack construction | 500,000 |
| | To withdrawal of light gold | 400,000 |

To recapitulate. The present Government has taken off the extra 4d. on tobacco. It has reduced the duty on tea by one-third. It has increased the taxation on expensive wines, and has graduated the house duty in favour of the poorer class of householders.

**Summary
of Mr
Goschen's
finance,
1886-92.**

The National Debt has been reduced by £37,000,000; income tax reduced annually by £4,000,000; tobacco duty reduced annually by £500,000; inhabited house duty reduced annually by £430,000; duty on tea and currants reduced annually by £1,700,000. Local taxation has been relieved by £3,873,000 a-year.

THE RELIEF OF LOCAL TAXATION.

“Before I pass to the finances of the coming year, I will say a word with regard to the subject of the relief of local taxation, and all that hangs thereby. We have transferred in 1889-90, for licence duties—in England, £3,011,000; in Scotland, £310,000; and in Ireland, £40,000; making a total of £3,621,000. For probate duty—in England, £1,930,000; in Scotland, £265,000; and in Ireland, £217,000; total, £2,412,000. For beer and spirit duties—England, £1,039,000; Scotland, £143,000; and Ireland, £117,000. The total transfer in this form has been £7,073,000. Deducting from this sum the amounts which would have been given from the Imperial Exchequer in the old form of grants-in-aid—£3,200,000—the total relief given to England, Scotland, and Ireland, is £3,873,000.”

**Mr
Goschen's
Budget
Speech,
April 23.
Hansard,
April 1891.**

THE NATIONAL DEBT CONVERSION, 1888-89.

The most remarkable triumph of the present Government is the unqualified success which has attended the conversion of the Three per cent Stock.

**Summary
of Con-
version
Scheme.**

Since 1834, when Mr Goulburn, Home Secretary in Sir Robert Peel's Administration, carried a conversion scheme, no Chancellor of the Exchequer has been so fortunate in reducing the rate of interest as Mr Goschen.

**Mr
Goschen,
House of
Commons,
Mar. 9,
1888.**

The principle of the Act of 1888 was explained to the House of Commons by *Mr Goschen* on March 9, 1888. The price of the best securities had risen. There was a tide of commercial prosperity making itself felt all over the country. The rate of interest on capital was lowered owing to the increase of capital, and it would seem grossly unfair to the taxpayers if they failed to share in this general prosperity. Consequently he had arranged for the conversion of the New Three per cent Stock into a stock of lower denomination. Also for the conversion of the Consolidated Three pounds per cent Annuities into a stock of lower denomination. The amount to be converted was £558,000,000 of stock—viz., New, £166,000,000; Reduced, £69,000,000; Consols, £323,000,000.

**See 51
Vict. c. 2.
Amount to
be con-
verted.**

**See 51
Vict. c. 2,
sec. 1,
sub-sec. 1.**

**Amount
saved to
thenation.**

Mr Goschen said he proposed to establish a new Two and three-quarters per cent for a term of fifteen years, descending automatically to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The new stock to consist of perpetual annuities, to yield dividends of £2, 15s. per cent per annum until the 5th April 1903, and thereafter to yield dividends of £2, 10s. per cent per annum. *The sum of £1,400,000 would be saved to the taxpayers annually in interest, and double that sum at the end of fifteen years.*

**Mr Glad-
stone's
testimony,
Mar. 9,
1888.**

Mr Gladstone congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and added that the project had been laboriously, carefully, and thoroughly examined.

The second reading of the bill was agreed to on March 16; third reading, March 22; Royal assent, March 27.

It would not be an exaggeration to describe this conversion as the greatest stroke of financial genius which this country has witnessed for many years.

The dissentients to the conversion were comparatively few.

When the Government appeals to the country, first and foremost in the list of legislation passed since 1886 should appear this enormous saving to the taxpayers; and if appreciation and gratitude for services rendered are still influences with the electorate, the remembrance of this saving of one and a half million a-year ought to ensure a majority in favour of the financial policy of the Government in the next House of Commons.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, on July 5, 1888, moved a resolution authorising the *redemption* of the balance of Consols and Reduced Threes unconverted under his conversion scheme by the insertion of this resolution in the 'London Gazette.' An Act to follow early next session. The *Attorney-General* explained that under the resolution the Government would be able to pay off the debt at any time, and not the whole sum at once.

The bill was brought in and read a first time on March 22, 1889; second time, March 28; Committee proceedings, 1st and 4th April; Royal assent, 11th April.

**National
Debt Re-
demption,
52 Vict.
c. 4, 1889.**

The Act commences by setting forth the resolution adopted by the House of Commons on July 5, 1888.

**Summary
of Re-
demption
Act.**

Section 1 provides that "every person who is on the sixth day of July 1889 a holder of Consolidated Three per cent Stock or Reduced Three per cent Stock shall on that day be paid off by the payment of a principal sum, at the rate of one hundred pounds sterling for every one hundred pounds of the capital sums," &c.

Section 3 makes provision as to the exchange of stock.

Section 5 gives the Treasury power to create Two and three-quarters per cent Stock.

Tabulated Statement issued by Treasury, Dec. 31, 1889. Particulars of Stock converted. Also Daily News, p. 2, Jan. 1, 1890.

The result of these two Acts may be seen from the tabulated statement issued by the Treasury.

Accompanying the Quarterly Revenue Returns, issued Dec. 31, 1889, are tabulated statements showing how the National Debt Conversion Scheme has been carried out. It contains the following table, setting forth the combined results of the operations under the National Debt (Conversion) Act, 1888 (51 Vict. c. 2), and the National Debt Redemption Act, 1889 (52 Vict. c. 4), up to 5th Oct. 1889:—

| | Three per cent Stock. |
|--|-----------------------|
| Amount of Three per cent Stocks on 31st March 1888 | £557,992,508 4 2 |
| Add—Consolidated Three per cent Stock created in respect of Chancery Terminable Annuity under National Debt (Supplemental) Act, 1888 (51 & 52 Vict. c. 15, sec. 3) | 34,625,777 15 11 |
| Amount of Three per cent Stocks liable to conversion | £592,618,286 0 1 |
| Deduct—Consolidated and Reduced Three per cent Stocks cancelled by operation of Sinking Funds between 31st March 1888 and 5th Oct. 1889 | 1,793,878 12 3 |
| Amount of Three per cent Stocks dealt with under the above Acts | £590,824,407 7 10 |

I. CONVERTED INTO NEW CONSOLS.

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| 1. Under National Debt (Conversion) Act, 1888 | £549,094,010 19 1* |
| 2. Under National Debt (Redemption) Act, 1889 | 16,590,453 15 8 |
| | £565,684,464 14 9 |

II.—PAID OFF IN MONEY.

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. Under National Debt (Conversion) Act, 1888— | |
| New Three per cent Dissentients paid off | £761,683 19 9 |
| Carry forward | £761,683 19 9 |
| | £565,684,464 14 9 |
| | £590,824,407 7 10 |

* Of this amount of New Consols, £34,625,777, 15s. 11d. was cancelled, and converted into a new Chancery Terminable Annuity.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|----|----|--------------|----|---|--------------|---|----|
| Brought forward . . . | £761,683 | 19 | 9 | £565,684,464 | 14 | 9 | £590,824,407 | 7 | 10 |
| 2. Under National Debt (Redemption) Act, 1889— | | | | | | | | | |
| (a) Before 6th July 1889 | 6,128,005 | 8 | 4 | | | | | | |
| (b) On and after 6th July 1889 . . . | 11,874,109 | 16 | 10 | | | | | | |
| (c) In respect of the "Book Debt" created under the National Debt Act, 1889 . | 590,454 | 3 | 8 | | | | | | |
| | | | | 19,354,253 | 8 | 7 | | | |

III.—CONVERTED INTO TEMPORARY "BOOK DEBT."

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|---|---|--|--|--|-------------|---|-------------|
| Balance of "Book Debt" created under section 12 of the National Debt (Redemption) Act, 1889 | 5,785,689 | 4 | 6 | | | | 590,824,407 | 7 | 10 |
| | | | | | | | | | <i>Nil.</i> |

CHAPTER XII.

IMPERIAL AND NATIONAL DEFENCE.

THE legislation of the Government in the direction of strengthening the naval and military forces of this country includes the National Defence Act, 1888; the Imperial Defence Act, 1888; the Naval Defence Act, 1889; and the Barracks Act, 1890. In face of the increasing armaments on the Continent, and particularly the growing navy of more than one great Power, it was absolutely vital for the preservation of our national existence to provide against any hostile combination which might be formed against us.

By the National Defence Act, 1888, the land forces of the Crown are organised so as to be able to effect rapid mobilisation. The bill was not long in passing through its various parliamentary stages. *Mr Stanhope* (Secretary for War) introduced it on May 3; read second time, May 10; Committee, Aug. 9; third reading, Aug. 10; Royal assent, Aug. 13, 1888.

**National
Defence
Act, 1888.
51 & 52
Vict. c. 31.
Passage
through
Parlia-
ment.**

Sec. 2. The second clause authorises the calling out of the yeomanry for actual service, and a corps when called out shall be liable to serve in any part of Great Britain.

Sec. 3. By the third clause, whenever the Royal Naval Reserve is called out, the Admiralty may also mobilise the Naval Artillery Volunteers. The Naval Reserve (16 & 17 Vict. c. 73) also means the "temporary transfer to the navy in case of need of seafaring men employed in other public services."

Government precedence in railway traffic.
Sec. 4. Clause 4 is extremely valuable. When an order for the embodiment of the militia is in force it shall be lawful for the Government to have precedence over other traffic on the railways of the United Kingdom. A penalty not exceeding £50 will be exacted from any person who obstructs the carrying of this into effect. But sub-section 6 provides that railway companies shall be paid such reasonable remuneration as may be agreed upon.

Sec. 5. Clause 5 gives further power for the requisition in times of emergency of carriages, animals, vessels, &c., by military authorities.

Imperial Defence Act, 1888.
51 & 52 Vict. c. 32. But this Act is devoted to home defence, and the larger question of Imperial defence was dealt with in the Imperial Defence Act, which was passed in the same year. The Colonial Conference of 1887, to which I have referred in my chapter on Imperial Federation, expressed its willingness to make additions to the Australian fleet in conjunction with the home Government. An agreement was drawn up between the Commissioners of the Admiralty and the Governments of her Majesty's colonies of New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia, New Zealand, Victoria, Queensland, and Western Australia.

Passage through Parliament. *Mr W. H. Smith*, on May 15, 1888, moved resolutions ratifying this agreement, and consenting to the expenditure proposed under the Act. *Mr Broad-*

hurst, Mr Waddy, Mr Labouchere, and other Gladstonians opposed these resolutions, but they were carried by large majorities. There were further discussions, principally on the financial proposals, on June 4 and July 24. **Opposition of Gladstonians.**

The bill received Royal assent on Aug. 13, 1888.

The preamble sets forth that Parliament is desirous to provide for the construction of urgent works for the defence of arsenals, dockyards, and military ports at home and abroad ; the completion of the defence of coaling-stations abroad ; and the necessary armament for the same. **Preamble.**

Clause 1 ratifies the Australasian agreement (set out in first schedule). **Part I. Sec. 1.**

Clause 2 provides that the Treasury shall from time to time issue such sums out of the Consolidated Fund as may be required for arming and completing for sea, &c., the vessels mentioned in articles 6 and 7 of the agreement. Sub-section 3 directs that all sums received from the Colonial Governments in respect of the annual sum of £35,000 or £91,000 (article 7 of agreement) shall be applied under the directions of the Treasury as an appropriation in aid of naval expenditure. **Sec. 2. Sub-sec. 3.**

Clause 3 deals with borrowing powers of the Treasury for the purposes of the Act, &c. **Sec. 3.**

Clause 4 provides that the Treasury shall also issue out of the Consolidated Fund any sums not exceeding £2,600,000 for the defence of ports, &c., as set out in the second schedule. A sub-section deals with the rate of interest, &c. **Part II. Ports, coaling-stations, &c. Sec. 4.**

Clause 5 requires that an estimate in detail must be submitted to the Treasury before any moneys are issued. **Sec. 5.**

First
Schedule.
Austral-
asian
agree-
ment.

The first schedule of the Act gives the text of the Australasian agreement, which consists of 12 articles and a schedule.

There shall be a force of sea-going ships of war, to be provided and maintained at the joint cost of Imperial and Colonial funds. These vessels shall have the same status as her Majesty's ships of war, and are to be under the naval commander appointed to the command of the Australian station by her Majesty. The employment of such vessels is limited to Australian waters, unless the Colonial Governments otherwise consent. This Australian navy is not to *replace* the Imperial force, and there is to be no reduction of the normal strength of the Imperial squadron employed on the station. The Australian navy is to consist of five fast cruisers and two torpedo-gunboats.

The first cost of these vessels is to be paid out of Imperial funds, and the vessels sent fully armed, manned, and equipped to Australia—the colonies to pay interest at 5 per cent on the first and prime cost, but such payment not to exceed £35,000 per annum. The colonies shall also bear annual cost of maintaining the vessels kept in commission. This agreement to be for a period of ten years, and only to terminate, provided notice is given, at the end of the eighth year. If the agreement terminates, the vessels remain the property of the Imperial Government. Two war-vessels, either belonging to the Imperial or Colonial Governments, to be permanently stationed in New Zealand waters. Nothing in the agreement is to affect purely local naval defence forces which the colonies may establish for harbour and coast defence—such local forces to be controlled and paid for entirely by each colony.

Second .
Schedule.

The second schedule of the Act gives the following details of the expenditure of the £2,600,000 authorised by section 4 of the Act:—

| | | |
|---|----------|--|
| 1. Military ports— | | |
| Home | £738,000 | Sums to be expended on forti- fications, &c. |
| Colonial | 441,000 | |
| 2. For coaling-stations | 360,000 | |
| 3. For barracks at coaling-stations | 350,000 | |
| 4. For mercantile ports | 193,000 | |
| 5. For heavy guns not yet allotted to particular ports | 200,000 | |
| 6. For storehouses and magazines at home | 100,000 | |
| 7. Incidental expenses under Act | 218,000 | |
| Total | | <u>£2,600,000</u> |

The Act has already proved most efficient, and the vessels are either in course of construction or have actually been launched. So that the agreement of 1887 and the subsequent Imperial Defence Act will have been the means of providing Australia and our adjacent possessions with a powerful and useful squadron.

In 1889, however, the most important proposals of the Government were submitted to the House of Commons by *Lord George Hamilton*. The First Lord proposed, on March 7: "That it is expedient to authorise the expenditure of a sum, not exceeding £21,500,000, for the purposes of building, arming, and equipping, &c., vessels for her Majesty's navy; of this expenditure, a sum not exceeding £10,000,000 to be issued out of the Consolidated Fund in the seven years ending March 31, 1896, and a sum not exceeding £11,500,000 to be issued out of moneys provided by Parliament for naval services during the five financial years ending on March 31, 1894." The statement made by *Lord George* described the number and class of vessels, and details of the proposed expenditure, but these will be found under the Act. Various discussions took place until April 1, when the Committee divided, and the resolution was carried by 251 to 75.

Naval
Defence,
1889.

Resolution
moved
in Com-
mittee,
House of
Commons,
Mar. 7,
1889.
*Lord
George
Hamilton.*

The Naval Defence Bill was introduced by *Mr Naval*
W. H. Smith, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and *Defence*

Bill, 1889. *Lord G. Hamilton.* First reading, April 8, 1889; second reading, May 7; third reading, May 20; House of Lords, May 21 to 31; Royal assent, May 31.

Opposition by Gladstonians. From the first it was evident that the Gladstonians viewed the action of the Government with disfavour. Legislation in the direction of maintaining the power and dignity of the Empire is seldom welcomed by them.

On March 25, *Mr Cremer* moved an amendment to Lord George Hamilton's resolution, declaring the proposed expenditure to be inexpedient. *Sir Edward Reed*, *Mr C. Wright* (G.L., South-West Lancashire), also opposed the Ministerial policy.

On April 1, the following Gladstonians spoke against the resolution: *Messrs Howell*, *S. Buxton*, *Pickersgill*, and *Sir W. Lawson*.

On 4th April: *Messrs Cossham*, *Illingworth*, and *Sir J. Pease*.

On May 6, when second reading of bill was proposed, *Mr Labouchere* moved its rejection. *Sir Wilfrid Lawson* and *Mr H. Fowler* opposed the financial part of Lord George's scheme.

On May 7: *Sir W. Plowden* (G.L., West Wolverhampton), *Messrs Shaw Lefevre* and *Gourley*.

In its subsequent stages the bill was opposed by the following ex-Cabinet Ministers: *Mr Campbell-Bannerman*, *Sir George Trevelyan*, and *Sir W. Harcourt* (May 17).

A more unpatriotic and discreditable opposition has never been offered to any proposal of a purely national character; but fortunately the majorities in the House of Commons of the combined Conservative and Unionist parties were always sufficient to carry the bill.

The most important provisions of the 1889 Act are as follows :—

52 Vict.
c. 8.

The preamble sets forth that the Commons are desirous of increasing the naval force for the protection of her Majesty's dominions and the trade thereof.

Preamble.

Clause 1 provides that the Admiralty shall cause to be built and completed for sea, before April 1894 as far as practicable, the vessels specified in the schedule to the Act.

Sec. 1.

The Admiralty may expend £21,500,000—

(a) For the purpose of completing by *contract* the vessels in first part of schedule, £10,000,000.

(b) For the purpose of *dockyard* building, as specified in the second part of the schedule, £11,500,000.

Clauses 2 and 3 refer to the financial arrangements. There is to be a Naval Defence Account opened at the Bank of England, and the money issued to that account applied for the purposes of this Act. The money is provided in the following manner: £10,000,000 out of the Consolidated Fund; to be paid by yearly instalments of one-seventh that amount in each of the seven financial years ending March 31, 1896. This is for the *contract* work. For the purposes of *dockyard* ship-building there shall be applied out of the moneys provided by Parliament for navy services during the five financial years ending March 31, 1894, sums not exceeding the whole amount authorised by the Act.

Secs. 2
and 3.
Financial
arrange-
ments.

Clauses 4 and 5 require that the Admiralty shall submit a detailed estimate to the Treasury before any money is applied, and also that the Admiralty should prepare an account at the end of every financial year stating how the money has been expended, such account to be audited by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, and annually laid before Parliament.

Secs. 4
and 5.

[TABLE.

SCHEDULE.

PART I.—VESSELS TO BE BUILT BY CONTRACT.
Classes, and Approximate Tonnage, Speed, and Armament.

| Number of Ships to be Built. | Four. | Five. | Seventeen. | Six. |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|
| Class. | Battle-ship, 1st Class. | Protected Cruiser, 1st Class. | Protected Cruiser, 2d Class, modified Medea Type. | Torpedo Gunboat, Sharpshooter Type. |
| Tonnage displacement at load draught | 14,150 tons. | 7350 tons. | 3400 tons. | 735 tons. |
| Maximum speed, | 17½ knots. | 20 knots. | 20 knots. | 21 knots. |
| load draught | 16 knots. | 18 knots. | 18 knots. | 18.75 knots. |
| Natural draught | | | | |
| Armament | Four 13½" guns. | Two 9.2" guns. | Two 6" guns. | ... |
| | Ten 6" guns. | Ten 6" guns. | Six 4.7" quick-firing guns. | Two 4.7" quick-firing guns. |

Note.—The displacement and speed are given for unsheathed ships. Some of the cruisers will be wood-sheathed and coppered, and the speed of those vessels may be slightly less than above stated.

PART II. — VESSELS TO BE BUILT IN H.M. DOCKYARDS.

Classes, and Approximate Tonnage, Speed, and Armament.

| Number of Ships to be Built. | Four. | | Two. | Four. | Twelve. | Four. | Twelve. |
|--|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| | Battle-ship, 1st Class. | Three Bar-bette-ships. | | | | | |
| Class. | One Turret-ship. | | | Protected Cruiser, 1st Class. | Protected Cruiser, 2d Class, modified Medea Type. | Protected Cruiser, 2d Class, Pandora Type. | Torpedo Gun-boat, Sharp-shooter Type. |
| Tonnage displacement at load draught . | 14,150 tons. | 14,150 tons. | 9000 tons. | 7350 tons. | 3400 tons. | 2575 tons. | 735 tons. |
| Maximum speed, draught load . | 17½ knots. | 17½ knots. | 18 knots. | 20 knots. | 20 knots. | 19 knots. | 21 knots. |
| Natural draught . | 16 knots. | 16 knots. | 16½ knots. | 18 knots. | 18 knots. | 16½ knots. | 18.75 knots. |
| Armament . | Four 13½" guns. | Four 13½" guns. | Four 10" guns. | Two 9.2" guns. | Two 6" guns. | ... | ... |
| | Ten 6" guns. | Ten 6" guns. | Eight 4.7" quick-firing guns. | Ten 6" guns. | Six 4.7" quick-firing guns. | Eight 4.7" quick-firing guns. | Two 4.7" quick-firing guns. |

Note.—The above displacement and speed are for unsheathed ships. The second-class battle-ships and some of the cruisers will be wood-sheathed and coppered, and the speed of those vessels may be slightly less than above stated.

Argu-
ments in
favour of
the in-
crease of
Navy.

I have commented upon the want of patriotism shown by the Gladstonians in trying to prevent this Act becoming law. When the following facts are taken into consideration, for Great Britain to possess a weak and inadequate navy is not only foolish, but culpable in the extreme. Our people are absolutely dependent for their daily food-supplies upon the ocean as a highway. Nearly all the chief articles consumed in the British Islands must be brought either from our colonies or foreign nations.

The colon-
ial and
foreign
imports
and ex-
ports
in 1889.
Board of
Trade
Returns,
Jan. 1890.

During the twelve months ending Dec. 31, 1889, there were imported—

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-------|-------------|
| Animals (meat, &c.). | . . . | £10,360,087 |
| Food (corn, flour, rice, &c.) | . . . | 170,000,000 |

Also the raw materials necessary to enable our working classes to earn their weekly wages are imported in immense quantities. The total imports for 1889 amounted to £427,210,830; for 1888 they amounted to £386,582,026. Our export trade in 1889 amounted to £313,031,734; in 1888 to £297,885,236. These enormous sums are carried to and fro by a mercantile fleet unequalled in any age or by any nation. If they were stopped by a combination of hostile fleets, our people would be reduced to starvation, and the factories of all our large towns would close. Famine and misery must be the inevitable consequences if ever the navy ceases to be strong enough to protect our commerce. The addition of the seventy ships to the navy made by the Government is simply a national insurance against a terrible calamity. Not only should the necessary expenditure be cheerfully defrayed, but the Government should be encouraged to ensure for this country an undoubted and unchallengeable supremacy at sea.

SHIPS OF WAR COMPLETED FOR SEA.

| | |
|-------------------|----|
| 1887-88 | 14 |
| 1888-89 | 29 |
| 1889-90 | 32 |
| 1890-91 | 16 |
| | — |
| | 91 |

Mr E. Stanhope (C.) explained on February 27th the principal improvements to be effected by this measure. The additional cost of camp accommodation at Aldershot was £1,500,000. At Portsmouth, Shorncliffe, and Colchester there would be extended barracks. At the Albany Street barracks, London; at Curragh, Ireland; and at Malta, Gibraltar, and Bermuda, there would be considerable improvements.—the total cost being estimated at £4,100,000. Royal assent, July 25, 1890.

**Barracks
Act, 1890.**

Section 1 gives the Secretary of State power to acquire such lands and execute such work as he may deem expedient.

**53 & 54
Vict. c. 25.**

Section 2 regulates the acquirement of lands for the purposes of artillery or rifle ranges and other military operations.

Section 4 provides that compensation to be paid for such land shall be settled by arbitration.

Sections 5, 6, and 7 deal with the expenses under the Act, and the restrictions on application of money issued.

The remaining sections give the Secretary of State power to sell existing buildings, and require him to make a statement of expenditure at the end of each financial year.

The Schedule gives the heads of proposed expenditure, amounting in all to £4,100,000.

PART II.

SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS, SCOTLAND: LAW.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ACT, 1887.

THE object of this legislation was to amend and simplify the criminal law of Scotland and its procedure; and also to alter the constitution of the Justiciary and Sheriff Courts.

Introduced, March 14, by the Lord Advocate, *Mr J. H. A. Macdonald*, Q.C. (C.), *Mr Matthews* and the Solicitor General for Scotland, *Mr Robertson*, Q.C. Second reading, April 21; Committee proceedings, June 30, July 12, and July 14; third reading, July 18; Lords, second reading, July 29. Royal assent, Sept. 16.

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment,
March-
Sept. 1887.

50 & 51
Vict. c. 35.
Summary
of Act.

Section 1 gives an interpretation of the expressions used — such as Lord Commissioner of Justiciary, Sheriff-Substitute, &c.

Section 2 provides that indictments shall be in the name of her Majesty's Advocate.

Section 3 regulates the procedure to be adopted on the resignation or removal of the Lord Advocate.

Sections 4 to 27 deal with the proceedings under an indictment.

Prisoners before examination being given access to a law agent.

Sections 28 to 39 regulate Sheriff Court cases and High Court cases under the First Diet.

An accused person is entitled to see all productions.

Sections 40 to 78, the Second Diet, are intended to prevent delay in trials; and they also cite the statutory offences which are offences at common law.

The Act (section 75) does not apply to any prosecution for treason against the Sovereign.

The Schedules give examples of indictments for criminal offences, and forms of citation to appear, &c.

This measure has proved valuable in practice, and has removed much that was obscure and uncertain under the criminal procedure of Scotland.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS ACT, 1890.

This bill was rendered necessary by the Local Government Act of the preceding session. It is hardly necessary to refer in detail to its various Parliamentary stages. It was read a third time on June 30, on the motion of *Mr J. P. B. Robertson* (C.), Lord Advocate for Scotland. Royal assent, Aug. 18, 1890.

53 & 54
Vict. c. 55.

The provisions of the Municipal Elections Act of 1884 are applied to Scotland with only such modifications as the Scotch law necessitated.

Summary
of Act.

POLICE ACT, 1890.

53 & 54

Vict. c. 67.

The objects of this measure were explained by the Lord Advocate, *Mr Robertson* (C.), on the motion for the second reading, July 1. It gives a right to every police constable to pensions and gratuities for twenty-five years' service, and makes provision if incapacitated from duty. Royal assent, Aug. 18, 1890.

CHAPTER II.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS, SCOTLAND:
THE CROFTERS.

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS ACT, 1887.

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment.

THE position of the crofter population of the Highlands was serious in the extreme. Parliament was invited to redress their grievances, both under Mr Gladstone's and under the present Government. The adjournment of the House of Commons was moved by *Dr Clark* (G.I.), on April 1, 1887, and he presented a very strong case, proving that the crofters were liable for long years of arrears due to bad seasons, which they could not possibly meet. *Mr A. Balfour* (C.), on behalf of the Government, promised to do his utmost to remove this grievance. Accordingly, on May 10, the *Marquis of Lothian* (C., Secretary for Scotland) introduced the Crofters' Holdings Bill in the Lords.

In moving the second reading, May 17, *Lord Lothian* explained that under the bill the Commission would have power of prohibiting bankrupt sales of crofters' stock; and it was also provided that the Commission could prevent sales if a crofter was

unable to pay his arrears. Committee, May 30; third reading, May 23. House of Commons, first reading, June 13; second reading, June 14; Committee, June 30, *The Lord Advocate* (then *Mr J. H. Macdonald*, Q.C.), agreed to certain amendments; third reading, July 1; Royal assent, Aug. 8, 1887. 50 & 51
Vict. c. 24.

Section 2 provides that any crofter who makes an application to the Commission to fix a fair rent for his holding in lieu of the rent he had been paying, may apply for an order prohibiting the sale of his goods and effects under any decree granted against him. If the Commission are satisfied that the selling up of any tenant would defeat the object of the Commission, they may grant an order prohibiting such sale till the tenant's application to fix a fair rent has been finally determined. The Commission shall consider and determine applications under this section summarily, and may ascertain the facts by means of affidavits, or by such inquiry as they may deem appropriate in each case. Where any crofter has promised to pay his landlord arrears of rent, the Commission shall still be able to deal with such arrears. If any crofter is called upon to pay or shall have paid any larger sum of such arrears than the Commission hold should have been paid, they may order repayment of such excess by the landlord, or authorise the deduction from future rents. Summary
of Act.

Section 3 deals with bankruptcy of a crofter; and section 4 amends the principal Act (49 & 50 Vict. c. 29).

REDUCTIONS OF RENT.

In May 1889 the Crofters Commission visited the Isle of Skye. Arrears of rent to the amount of £12,300 were owing. The Commissioners remitted £8500, or nearly 70 per cent. At Duisdalebeg rents were reduced 50 per cent. On Lord Macdonald's Daily
News,
May 23,
1889.

Skye property rents were reduced 30 per cent. On the Rev. H. A. Macpherson's property (Glendale), 35½ per cent.

The Commission during Nov. 1889 reduced the rent of the holdings on the Skerries by 50 per cent; in Shetland by 56 per cent; in Caithness by 37 per cent; cancelling arrears.

Land
Court,
Dec. 24,
1890.

The decision of the Court regarding the island of Barra, part of Lady Cathcart's estate in the Outer Hebrides, reduced the rents by 37½ per cent. The tenants had not paid any rent for seven or eight years, a sum of £3077 being due. The Court wiped off 85 per cent of these arrears.

Land
Court,
Dec. 27,
1890.

During the autumn 1890, 419 cases on Lady Matheson's estate at Lewis came before the Court. There was an average reduction of 32 per cent on the crofters' rents. Of the arrears of rent 77 per cent was cancelled. Of the original amount (£6200) the sum of £4807 was wiped out.

Summary
of Crofters'
remedial
legisla-
tion, 1886-
91.

Steamer communication has been vastly improved, and sums granted for the construction of piers and harbours.

Lighthouses, beacons, and telegraph lines are in course of construction.

Hansard,
May 1891.

The Scotch islanders have received the attention of the Government equally with their brethren in the west of Ireland, and for these purposes, in Committee, May 28, a supplementary vote of £47,000 was agreed to on the motion of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*.

The Western Highlands and Islands (Scotland) Works Bill, embodying these proposals, passed through Committee (Commons) July 6; read third time, Lords, Aug. 3; Royal assent, Aug. 5, 1891.

CHAPTER III.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS, SCOTLAND:
LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

“To amend the laws relating to local government in Scotland.”

The Lord Advocate, *Mr J. P. B. Robertson*, Q.C. (C.), in moving for leave to introduce the bill on April 8, explained the constituency of the new county council, which would take over the powers conferred on local authorities by the Public Health Acts, and administer them by the district committees. Medical officers of health would be appointed by the county councils, and they would have to perform other important duties. There would be a new register, with single member divisions. The qualification of a county councillor would be being on the register for the county. Each county would have an annual budget and publication of accounts. With regard to finance, the local licences, amounting to £322,000, and the probate duty grant of £234,000, would be surrendered to the county council in satisfaction of the grants-in-aid of main roads, police, medical relief, and pauper lunatics. The balance, amounting to £171,000, would be appropriated in the reduction of voluntary school and board school fees. (See “Free Education.”)

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment, 1889.

The House received this statement very cordially, though some criticisms were offered by *Mr Childers*, *Sir Geo. Campbell*, and other Gladstonians. Second reading debate, May 23, 24, 27, and 30; carried without a division, May 30; Committee proceedings, May 30, July 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15; as amended,

considered, July 22, 23, and 24; third reading, July 24; Lords, *Marquis of Lothian* (Secretary for Scotland, C.) moved second reading, which was carried without a division, Aug. 1; Committee, Aug. 6 and 8; third reading, Aug. 9; message of agreement with Commons, Aug. 22; Royal assent, Aug. 26.

52 & 53
Vict. c. 50.
Summary
of Act.

Section 4 establishes electoral districts. The term of office of a county councillor to be three years, both for a county division and a burgh.

Section 9 states the disqualifications for being a councillor. No person holding an office of profit under the council is eligible for the council.

Section 11 deals with the powers of the council, which include county road management, administration of the Public Health Acts, &c.

In burghs with a population of less than 7000, the administration of the police, and of the Contagious Diseases Animals Act, &c., is transferred to the council (sections 13 and 14).

Sections 15, 16, 17, transfer other important duties to the councils upon matters of an administrative character.

The second part of the Act deals with the financial relations between the Exchequer and the counties and burghs. The probate duty grant, and all sums paid to the Local Taxation (Scotland) account, shall be applied under the direction of the Secretary for Scotland for the following purposes (section 19): the relief of local taxation by £30,000 in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the maintenance of roads, and the relief of school fees.

Sections 21 and 22 refer to the remaining uses to which local taxation is to be applied.

Sections 25, 26, and 27 deal with the property, funds, and expenses of the county councils, and the consolidation of rates.

Part IV. provides for the registration of persons entitled to vote in the election of a county councillor, and lays down special provisions for the service franchise occupiers.

Part V. regulates the conduct of an election. No person shall be entitled to give more than one vote at an election in a county (section 32).

Part VI. deals with the application of the Act to special counties and burghs.

Part VII. appoints boundary commissioners and simplifies the areas of counties.

Part VIII. gives the councils power to appoint and pay medical officers and sanitary inspectors, and to enforce the provisions of sundry Acts.

There are 121 sections contained in the Act. It is not necessary to quote them all. They are eminently calculated to carry out the object the Government had in view—the conferring upon Scotland of a system of local government as complete and comprehensive as any country has ever enjoyed.

There has been little or no difficulty in carrying out its provisions; and the local administration of Scotland, as well as England and Wales, in 1890-91, is undoubtedly an improvement upon the former obsolete administration by non-elective bodies.

CHAPTER IV.

MINISTERIAL REFORMS, SCOTLAND : EDUCATION.

TECHNICAL SCHOOLS ACT, 1887.

INTRODUCED by the Lord Advocate, *Mr J. H. A. Macdonald* Q.C. (C.), Aug. 5; second reading, Aug. Passage
through

Parlia-
ment,
Aug.-Sept.
1887.
50 & 51
Vict. c. 64.

10; Committee, Aug. 16; Lords, second reading, Sept. 13; Royal assent, Sept. 16.

The preamble defines the object of the Act, "to facilitate the establishment of technical schools in Scotland."

Section 2 states that the Act is to have effect in each parish and burgh in Scotland from and after the next triennial school board election.

Section 3 provides that a school board may pass a resolution that it is expedient to establish a technical school for its district. It may thereupon proceed to do so under this Act, and pay the expense of providing tools and apparatus out of the school fund. The subjects to be taught must be approved of from time to time by the Scotch Education Department. The school board shall fix the fees for attendance at a technical school.

Section 4 provides that the Scotch Education Department must confirm any resolution of a school board establishing a technical school.

Section 5 defines the conditions to be observed by a technical school claiming a grant from the Science and Art Department.

Section 6 provides that a school for subjects other than those for which a grant is claimed must be conducted under the Scotch Education Code to be laid annually before Parliament.

Section 7 defines the duties and powers of a school board with respect to technical schools.

Section 8 enables any two or more boards to combine for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

Section 10 provides that no scholar shall be admitted to a technical school unless he has obtained a certificate of elementary education.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

This bill, for the better administration and endowment of the Universities of Scotland, was introduced on Feb. 28, 1889, by the Lord Advocate, *Mr J. P. B. Robertson*, Q.C. (C.), *Mr Goschen* (C.), and *Sir H. Maxwell* (C.).

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment,
1889.

In moving the second reading, June 20, the *Lord Advocate* explained that the bill provided for the appointment of an executive committee, to whom the subject of theological tests would be submitted, and to what extent they could be dealt with. He also explained the various improvements the bill would effect.

Mr Campbell-Bannerman (G.L.) approved of the bill. After some further discussion it was read a second time without a division. In Committee, June 25, 27, 28, July 1, 2, 24, 30; third reading, July 31; Lords, second reading, Aug. 6; third reading, Aug. 12; Royal assent, Aug. 30.

52 & 53
Vict. c. 55.
Summary
of Act.

Section 5 lays down the regulations for the constitution of the University Courts of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh.

By sub-section 3 the courts are incorporated with perpetual succession.

Section 6 defines the powers of the University Courts, which include the administration of the revenue and property of the University; the appointment of professors, examiners, and lecturers; the institution of library committees; and the general management of the universities.

Section 9 is a most important one. A committee of the Privy Council is to be styled the Scottish Universities Committee. It is composed of the Lord President of the Privy Council, Secretary for Scotland, the Lord Justice-General, the Lord Justice-Clerk, the Lord Advocate if a member of the Privy

Council, with the following if members of the Privy Council: Chancellor of each University, the Lord Rector, and one member at least of the Judicial Committee.

Section 10 appoints Commissioners, who are given powers to call before them the principals and professors of the universities, and to examine them as to all rules and ordinances; to regulate foundations, gifts, endowments, &c.

The remaining clauses deal with the extension of the universities, and the powers with respect to the Dundee College; the abolition of tests, and the reports on statistics, finance, &c., to be made annually.

FREE EDUCATION.

Free Education clauses in Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889.

Under section 19, sub-section 3, relief is provided in respect to the payment of fees. A letter and a minute were issued at the end of Aug. 1889 by the Scotch Education Department to the clerks of the various school boards in Scotland. Both the letter and minute are of such importance that a long quotation from them is necessary. The letter contains the following paragraphs:—

Letter and Minute issued by Scotch Education Department to Clerks of School Boards. Daily News, p. 7, Aug. 29, 1889.

“So far as my Lords are able to foresee, the amount payable on account of each scholar in average attendance in respect of the half-year ending on 31st of March 1890 will be about 6s. 6d. (six and sixpence); but this must be understood to be only an approximate calculation, and to be subject to modification according to the total average attendance in all schools entitled to share in the grant, and also according to the *total amount available*, which is approximately calculated at £169,000.”

“The information thus given will enable your board to calculate approximately what proportion the amount which may be claimable in respect of the schools under their management will bear to the

sum hitherto paid into the school fund under the head of fees."

"Should the *board* feel themselves able, in consideration of the sum so paid, to remit the fees entirely in the case of the infant classes and the first five standards, this should be stated, and the regulations for each school will be sanctioned accordingly.

"But should this not be the case, I am to ask you to state precisely the nature of the arrangements proposed under the alternative schemes admissible in terms of their Lordships' minute, and the financial or other grounds upon which the proposals are based."

It is evident that the first attempt at the relief of school fees will be made in respect of the infant classes and first five standards. The sum granted (probate duty grant) is not large, £169,000. Naturally the average attendance at the schools must be the consideration to direct the apportionment of this sum. The minute deals with certain conditions.

Paragraph 2 provides: "That the distribution shall be made in proportion to the average attendance of each school as shown by the annual returns for the school year ending between the 31st day of March 1889 and 28th day of Feb. 1890 inclusive."

The
Minute.
Daily
News,
Aug. 29,
1889.

Paragraph 6 provides: "That the following conditions shall, from and after the 1st day of Oct. 1889, be observed by the managers of all State-aided schools sharing in the probate duty grant in respect of such schools, and by the school boards in respect of the school provisions in the public schools of their district:—

"*No fees* shall be exacted from—(A) scholars who have not yet passed the 'third standard'; and (B) either (1) scholars who have not yet passed the 'third standard'; and (B) either (1) scholars who have passed the 'third standard,' but have not yet passed the 'fifth standard'; or (2) such proportion

of scholars who have passed the 'third standard,' but have not yet passed the 'fifth standard,' as may be arranged with the Scotch Education Department in view of the amount available from the probate duty grant, and in such manner as to secure that the full amount shall, as far as possible, be applied in the relief of fees."

Paragraph 7 provides: "That a school board, with sanction of the Scotch Education Department, and after supplying a sufficient number of schools in which relief from the payment of fees shall be given in accordance with paragraph 6 of this minute, may maintain a certain number of schools in which fees are charged to infants in all or any of the standards."

Satisfac-
tory
replies to
Letter and
Minute.
Oct. 7,
1889.

Since the 26th of August 1889, replies have been received to this letter and minute from various schools, and up to Oct. 7, regulations have been approved for 3006 out of 3128 schools. *Thirteen* aided schools prefer not to claim any share in the grant, and will continue to charge fees as before; while 40 schools, forming in each case part of the school provision under a school board, have been sanctioned as fee-paying schools under clause 7 of the minute.

In 2214 schools relief from fees is to be given to infants, and in all the compulsory standards, including standard 5 (see minute, paragraph 6). In 715 schools the managers have, in view of the probable amount of the grant, found themselves able to relieve scholars above standard 5 from fees, *in addition* to the infant classes and first five standards.

On the other hand, in 24 schools relief of fees has been given to all scholars *only* in and below the third standard; while the managers have shown financial grounds for restricting the relief to a proportion only of the scholars in standards 4 and 5.

Relief of fees began accordingly all over Scot-

land on the 1st of Oct. 1889, and the Department hope to be able to make a payment on account of 2s. 6d. a-head for each scholar in average attendance. This first instalment for all schools will amount to something between £60,000 and £70,000.

The *Lord Advocate*, in moving leave to bring in the bill (section 8 of Local Government for Scotland), explained that the probate duty grant would be surrendered to the county council in satisfaction of certain grants for local purposes, leaving a balance of £171,000 to be appropriated in reduction of voluntary school and school board fees.

Passage
of bill
through
Commons.
Debate in
Commons,
April 8,
1889.
Hansard,
April 1889.

Speaking on May 23, 1889, in the Commons, *Mr Arthur J. Balfour* said that voluntary and board schools would be treated on exactly the same footing under the Scotch Act. Up to the third standard, education would be free.

On the 12th of July 1889, in Committee, *Mr Esslemont* moved an amendment excluding denominational schools from participation in the benefits of the grant. This was opposed by the Government, and negatived without a division.

Finally, these clauses passed the Lords, and the measure received Royal assent on Aug. 26, 1889.

The experiment in Scotland is encouraging. In 2214 schools, education will be free to the infant classes and to the first five standards. Absolutely free education will be provided in 715 schools.

"A great change, to the advantage of the children and their parents," is the opinion of the 'Daily News.' A change for which the Scotch people have to thank the present Government.

Daily
News, Oct.
7, 1889.

On May 5, 1891, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, *Mr Goschen* announced that

the amount to be allotted to Scotland for free education would be about £200,000.

In supply, July 31, 1891, the Lord Advocate said there was an increase for the year in the aggregate attendance of children in public elementary schools of Scotland of from 503,100 to 512,690.

Since 1881 the population of Scotland has increased by 8 per cent, while the attendance of school children has increased 25 per cent.

PART III.

IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

LAW AND ORDER.

THE three policies, tried and abandoned by the Gladstonian-Nationalist Opposition since the present Government came into office, have been :—

1. Rendering the administration of the law impossible.
2. Inciting the Irish people to resist the Executive with violence.
3. Incurring personal martyrdom in order to manufacture a grievance against Mr Balfour and the Government.

I will deal, first of all, with the triumph of law and order. The condition of Ireland which led to the passing of the Crimes Act in 1887 was as follows: Parliamentary paper C. 5034 gave the number of agrarian outrages for the fifteen months ending March 31, 1887, which amounted to 1310. There were—

| | CONVICTIONS. |
|--|--------------|
| 11 murders | 1 |
| 23 cases of firing at person | 1 |
| 44 assaults | 18 |
| 84 outrages on cattle | 0 |
| 51 cases firing into dwellings | 1 |
| 175 cases injury to property | 7 |

Cowper
Commis-
sion, 1887.

Moreover, the evidence given before the Commission (appointed by *Lord Cowper*, a former member of Mr Gladstone's Government) was published early in 1887, and the impartial evidence then collected is sufficient to justify the Crimes Act.

Evidence
before
Cowper
Commis-
sion.

Mr Warburton (Bantry) said that combination was then at its worst.

Mr Considine, R.M. (Kerry), said the National League advocated boycotting.

Mr Lowry (Omagh) said that the power of the League was much increasing.

Mr J. Hardy, of Loughrea, said while the Government allowed the National League to exist there would never be peace.

Mr Hewson (Limerick) said no tenant paid his rent in violation of the orders of the League. In the beginning the tenants came secretly and paid, but the League had obtained complete domination over the people.

Sir Redvers Buller (Kerry) said the tenants were coerced. The three worst districts, which he thought were settling down, had just been visited by Mr Dillon and other M.P.'s, which would, he feared, disturb them. They had almost stopped land purchase. Shop debts could not be collected. The crops of a farmer were seized by a shopkeeper near Tralee, and he was shot the same night.

Mr J. E. Barrett (Cork) said because he had resisted boycotting, he could never go out without being well armed. Those who had displeased the

League were outside the pale of civilisation, and there was no law to protect them. One boycotted man sent his children to school, whereupon all the other children left the school.

Mr R. Creed (Cork) said he was boycotted from March 1, 1886, and all through the summer. The labouring class, to whom he gave employment, insisted on the withdrawal of the boycott ; but Government had done nothing for him, having apparently abdicated their functions.

Mr F. J. Joyce (Galway) said more than half the tenantry would be only too glad to be allowed to pay their rents if the Government did its duty. A national school teacher at Portumma was boycotted, and the children left his school ; he could not buy a loaf of bread or get his horses shod ; he was in a most frightful state.

Mr D. G. Cross (Tipperary) said it would be one of the greatest blessings the country had seen to be delivered from the rule of the National League.

Father John O'Leary, P.P. (Cork), said the people condemned outrages, but were afraid to give any sort of evidence or indication that might lead to the detection of crime.

The evidence of other witnesses, including Catholic priests and those best qualified to speak of the condition of each district, all pointed to the impotency of the law to deal with outrage and boycotting, and the absolute necessity of the Act contemplated by the Government.

The Queen's Speech, January 27, 1887, stated :
 "The relations between the owners and occupiers of land . . . have been seriously disturbed in some districts by organised attempts to incite the latter class to combine against the fulfilment of their legal obligations. The efforts of my Government to cope

Queen's
Speech,
Jan. 27,
1887.

with this evil have been seriously impeded by difficulties incident to the method at present prescribed by statute for dealing with such offences. Your early attention will be called to proposals for reforms in legal procedure which seem necessary to secure the prompt and efficient administration of the criminal law."

Passage
of bill
through
Parlia-
ment,
March
1887.

On March 22, *Mr W. H. Smith* moved for precedence of the Criminal Law and Procedure Bill over all orders of the day. He said there was a failure of justice owing to disorganisation, intimidation of juries, and escape of notorious criminals. It was the duty of Parliament to provide for the carrying out of the law, and to protect the law-abiding population.

Mr J. Morley stated the case against the bill. He said twenty-five counties were free from disorder, and the general condition of Ireland afforded no excuse for urgency. The bill was not intended to suppress disorder, but to deal with a combination against excessive rents, which was the only security against them. Sir R. Buller's evidence before the Cowper Commission bore him out that the bill was intended to collect exorbitant rents.

Mr Balfour denied this statement. The greater number of occupiers evicted were not under judicial rents. They had consequently not gone into the Land Court, therefore could not feel that their rents were exorbitant. The Government would introduce a Land Bill making the machinery of the 1881 Act smoother and giving equitable relief. Of course that bill would not solve the Irish Land question. The Government thought this could only be done by a large purchase measure, but both these measures must be preceded by the restoration of order.

Mr Finlay supported the Government on behalf of the Liberal Unionists.

On March 23, *Mr Milvain* identified the National League with outrage. *Messrs Reid, Brodrick, Bryce, and Lockwood* continued the discussion.

On March 24, *Mr Gladstone* denied the right of the Government to ask for urgency. He referred to the report of the Land Commission, and contended that five-sixths of the Irish members were opposed to the bill.

Messrs Addison, Mulholland, O'Morgan, Asquith, and Colonel Saunderson continued the debate.

Mr Chamberlain said "that the remedial legislation of the Gladstone Government 1880-1885 was a complete failure. There were two duties to be undertaken by the Government—to provide for a temporary suppression of disorder, and to solve the agrarian problem. Remedial legislation would not have a chance of success unless the influence of the National League were suppressed. Both *Mr Gladstone* and *Mr J. Morley* in 1881 advocated the upholding of the law as a necessary preliminary to remedial measures."

On March 25, *Mr T. W. Russell* said "the Ulster tenant farmers would be totally destroyed unless a drastic measure of Land reform were carried." He supported the motion.

Sir H. James said that it was due to the National League that the authority of the Crown was subverted. The first duty of the Government was to protect the subjects of the Queen by the law.

Sir W. Harcourt said there was no evidence of disturbance except that which arose from unjust rents.

Mr Goschen pointed out that rents must have been more unjust when *Sir W. Harcourt* was Home Secretary. He asked who was to decide whether they were just or not? The leaders of the Opposition had

ranged themselves on the side of disorder. The bill would break down the oppression under which the people of Ireland suffered.

The motion for urgency was agreed to by 349 to 260 votes.

**Introduc-
tion of
bill.**

On March 28, *Mr Balfour* introduced the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill: "To make better provision for the prevention and punishment of crime in Ireland." He said statistics of outrage alone did not sufficiently indicate the state of the country. There were, however, 917 persons under police protection at a cost of £55,000 a-year. It was impossible to induce persons assailed to give evidence, owing to the widespread terrorism and intimidation. Out of 755 crimes, 422 persons refused to give evidence. He therefore proposed that, as in Scotland, the magistrates should be empowered to hold inquiries even where no person was charged with a crime. It also proposed that two magistrates without a jury should try cases of criminal conspiracy, boycotting, rioting, offences under the Whiteboy Act, assaulting the officers of the law, &c., with a maximum power of inflicting six months' imprisonment. The bill would only apply to districts proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant, who could also make it an offence to be associated with attempts to interfere with the administration of the law.

Mr Dillon opposed the bill.

On March 27, *Mr Gladstone* said he would support Mr Parnell's amendment. He condemned the provision for the change of venue in criminal trials.

Mr Goschen referred to the prevailing intimidation of juries. Out of 1000 cases of crimes in 1886, only 64 convictions were obtained. Boycotting had largely increased since the lapse of the Crimes Act in 1885. He said the Government were determined to put

down the inhumanity and terrorism of the National League.

On March 30, *Messrs M'Neill and Broadhurst* opposed the measure.

Lord G. Hamilton showed that the number of offences, other than threatening letters, was

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| In 1885, | 489 |
| In 1886, | 607 |

| | |
|--------------------------|-----|
| An increase of | 118 |
|--------------------------|-----|

The Government wished to restore constitutional liberty.

Mr B. Coleridge opposed the bill.

On March 31, *Mr Campbell-Bannerman*, in opposing the bill, admitted the existence of boycotting and intimidation.

Sir R. Webster (Attorney-General) supported the bill, and said that not a line in it was directed against trades-unionism or honest agitation.

On April 5, *Mr Balfour* moved the second reading.

Sir B. Samuelson proposed, and *Sir J. Pease* seconded, an amendment that the bill would tend to increase disorder.

Mr Chaplin quoted the period when Lord Spencer was in Ireland, and maintained that a just administration of the law would bring stability and peace.

Sir C. Russell and several others continued the debate.

Sir E. Clarke (Solicitor-General) said they should do their utmost to defeat the illegitimate influence of agitators who endeavoured to turn agrarian distress to their own political purposes.

The debate was resumed on April 6.

On April 12, *Sir R. Webster* said injured persons were afraid to give information. The Phoenix Park murders would have remained undiscovered but for

the power of examining witnesses before a criminal was arrested. The permanent character of the bill was meant to place it above party politics.

Mr Childers opposed the bill.

On April 13, *Sir H. Holland* said the clause as to boycotting was merely an improvement on a similar clause in Mr Gladstone's Act of 1882.

The *Solicitor-General for Scotland* said no one would be liable to imprisonment except for crime. The bill created no new offence, and would not prevent an Irishman doing anything that an Englishman or Scotchman might do. In Scotland the executive had long since possessed the system with regard to the venue of trials which the bill proposed for Ireland, and he failed to see that it could in any way infringe personal security.

On April 14, the debate was continued.

On April 15, *Sir W. Harcourt* opposed the bill.

Mr Plunket pointed out that the Lord Lieutenant might render it nugatory by refraining to proclaim any district.

On April 18, Lord Hartington dwelt on the charges against the Nationalist party of complicity with American Fenians. He referred to the prevention by the National League of the working of the Land Act of 1881. In spite of the secret societies which were threatened, it was the duty of Parliament to uphold the supremacy of the law.

Mr Gladstone discussed the various coercion bills which had been introduced from 1833 downwards. He claimed for the Liberal party that though they had proposed the majority of these bills, they had learned that coercion was a failure. He denied that it would be possible to put down combination.

Mr Balfour replied for the Government, and the second reading was carried by 370 to 269 votes.

On April 26, *Mr Reid* moved an amendment declining to proceed with the bill until a measure dealing with excessive rents was placed before it. *Mr S. Lefevre* seconded it. *Mr Balfour* said the amendment was intended solely to delay the bill. *Viscount Wolmer*, *Mr E. Harrington*, *Mr Mundella*, and *Mr Dillon* spoke. Committee.

On April 27, *Messrs A. Pease*, *M. Kenny*, *T. Fry*, *W. F. Lawrence*, and *Sir J. Pease* continued the debate.

On April 28, *Messrs E. Beckett*, *T. Nolan*, *T. P. O'Connor*, and *R. Webster* took part in the debate.

Lord J. Manners said the increase of emigration had on political cause, but was due to the paralysis of industry, and the withdrawal of capital and employment. It was the duty of the Government to protect the people from intimidation.

Mr J. Morley said crime had arisen from the popular want of sympathy with the law. He regarded the remedial legislation as inadequate. The amendment was negatived by 341 to 240 votes.

On April 29, clause 1 was considered in Committee. Amendments were moved by *Messrs Healy* and *Commings*. *Messrs Stansfeld*, *Illingworth*, and *J. Morley* took part in the discussion.

On May 2, *Mr Healy* moved further amendments, which were negatived. *Messrs Gladstone*, *Dillon*, and *W. Redmond* supported these amendments.

Mr W. H. Smith moved the closure, which was agreed to by 257 to 135 votes.

On May 3, *Mr H. Fowler* and *Mr J. Morley* moved two verbal amendments, which the Government accepted.

On May 9, *Mr Clancy*, *Mr T. Ellis*, and *Mr T. Healy* moved further amendments, which were either withdrawn or negatived.

An amendment was inserted to the effect that a copy of a deposition of a witness called against him should be furnished to a person put upon his trial.

Further amendments by *Messrs Anderson, Bradlaugh, Healy, Conybeare, Stuart, Labouchere, and Wallace* were negatived.

Committee proceedings continued May 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, June 7, 8, 9.

1887.

On June 10, *Mr W. H. Smith* proposed to end the prolonged obstruction to the passage of the bill by moving a resolution, that if it were not reported at 10 P.M. on the following Friday, the chairman should put the remaining clauses without debate. He pointed out that the bill had occupied thirty-five working days of Parliament, a much longer period than had been allowed by Mr Gladstone in 1881.

Mr Gladstone admitted that the paralysis of Parliament had caused widespread dissatisfaction. He desired that the bill should be got out of the way, in order that the Land Bill might be considered.

Mr Parnell, Sir W. Lawson, and Sir W. Harcourt opposed the resolution.

Mr Goschen regretted its necessity, but was satisfied the country would approve of it.

After a protracted discussion, *Mr W. H. Smith* moved the closure, which was carried by 284 to 167 votes. The motion itself was agreed to by 245 to 93 votes. A discursive debate followed, which the Speaker stigmatised as a disgrace to the House.

On June 13, clause 5 was considered. *Mr H. Fowler* moved that proclamations should be issued by her Majesty in Council instead of the Irish Executive. This was negatived by 237 to 167 votes.

An amendment, supported by *Messrs J. Morley, Bradlaugh, and T. P. O'Connor*, to prevent the pro-

clamation of a district, unless necessary for the detection, prevention, and punishment of crime and outrage, was accepted by *Mr Balfour*.

A further amendment was made, on the motion of *Mr H. Fowler*, to the effect that any such proclamation shall be deemed to have expired if an address is presented to her Majesty by either House of Parliament praying that such proclamation shall not continue in force.

The *Attorney-General for Ireland* moved an addition to clause 5 relating to the retrospective nature of inquiry into crime.

On June 14, clause 6, which gives the Lord Lieutenant power to proclaim dangerous associations, was considered. *Messrs Clancy, Chance, Healy*, and *Commings* moved amendments, which were negatived.

An amendment by *Mr Finlay* was added, requiring the Lord Lieutenant to specify by name or description the association which he desired to proclaim.

On June 15, *Messrs Chance, M. Healy, J. Morley, Dillon*, and *E. Harrington* moved and supported amendments, which were negatived by large majorities.

On June 17, *Messrs H. Fowler, T. Healy, G. Morgan, Childers, Gladstone, Dillon*, and *Sir W. Harcourt* supported or moved amendments chiefly of a verbal character.

Proceedings continued, June 27, 28, and 30.

On July 8, *Mr Bryce* objected to the bill.

Lord Hartington, admitting the responsibility of the Liberal Unionists, declared that after all the prolonged discussions on the bill, they were as fully convinced of its expediency and necessity as when it was introduced. The objects it aimed at were precisely the same as those against which Mr Gladstone's Act of 1882 was directed, and the provisions of Mr

Gladstone's Act of 1881 were infinitely more stringent. Believing that his policy led to separation, he (Lord Hartington) supported the bill as a protection against the organised terrorism by which that policy was prosecuted.

After further debate, in which *Sir T. Esmond*, *Messrs B. Coleridge, Dillon, Addison, Sir W. Harcourt*, and *Mr Goschen* took part, *Mr Gladstone's* amendment was negatived by 349 to 262 votes, and the bill read a third time and passed.

Lords. First reading, July 11.

On July 14, *Lord Ashbourne* moved the second reading, and said: "The ordinary law had been broken down on account of the prevalence of a system of boycotting and intimidation. It was a slander upon English trades-unions to compare them with the proceedings of the National League.

Lord Granville opposed the bill.

Lord Carnarvon declared it absolutely necessary.

The Duke of Argyll and *Lord Selborne* supported the bill, and it was read a second time.

In Committee, July 15, the *Earl of Northbrook* challenged the Opposition to state what policy they had to offer as an alternative.

Lord Rosebery declined to formulate an alternative policy.

Lord Brabourne described the policy of the Opposition as the conciliation of moonlighters and the coercion of honest men.

After a legal conversation, in which *Lord Ashbourne*, *Lord Fitzgerald*, *Lord Herschell*, and *Lord Selbourne* took part, clauses up to 5 inclusive were agreed to. On clause 6 *Lord Herschell* considered that it gave the Lord Lieutenant too great a power. However,

this and the remaining clauses were agreed to without amendment.

Royal assent, July 19, 1887.

50 & 51
Vict. c. 20.

ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMES ACT.

On Sept. 19, 1889, at Thurles and at Cavan, two meetings were held in connection with the English Liberal deputation. Neither of these meetings was interfered with. The speeches were of a violent character, Mr Stansfeld, M.P., characterising the Parnell Commission as a Star Chamber inquisition. But *as no personal intimidation* was indulged in, the authorities did not interfere with the meetings.

From 1880 to 1885, Mr Gladstone's Government proclaimed no less than 130 meetings.

Proclama-
tion of
meetings
by Mr
Gladstone.

During Mr John Dillon, M.P.'s visit to East Mayo this incident occurred, on Sept. 21, 1890. Mr Byrne, the divisional magistrate in charge of the district, stepped up to Mr Dillon and said: "I am directed to inform you that if any language of an *intimidatory* or *illegal* character is used, it will be my duty to disperse the meeting."

During the Kilkenny and Sligo elections (Dec. 1890 and March 1891) the police were very cordially welcomed at public meetings by their former calumniators. No complaints have been heard about the interference of the authorities. On the contrary, the 'Daily News' correspondent wrote in that paper on Dec. 18, 1890: "But though Mr Parnell's was the only accident, there might have been some ugly work but for the prompt intervention of the strong body of police which had been stationed all day in Castlecomer." He wrote again: "It is impossible to over-praise the conduct of the constabulary throughout all the struggle. At the moment which I have just been describing, in the twinkling of an eye strong bodies of them came up at the double fully

Daily
News, Dec.
24, 1890.

armed, and took up their position between the roughs and Mr Healy."

Boycotting
dealt with
in Eng-
land,
Dec. 1889.

On Dec. 19, 1889, *Laurence Bellew* and *Thomas Fitzgerald* were tried and convicted at the Liverpool Assizes for conspiring to boycott cattle from the Massereene estate. They were indicted under the Protection of Property Act, 1875, section 7: "Every person who, with a view to compel any other person to abstain from doing any act which such other person has a legal right to do, wrongfully and without legal authority uses violence or intimidates such other person or persistently follows him from place to place, shall be liable to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three months with or without hard labour." Witnesses proved that the cattle were landed from Drogheda for sale at Salford near Manchester. The prisoners persecuted the owner and tried to obstruct him in finding a purchaser. In summing up, the judge (Mr Justice Grantham) said that a conspiracy to prevent a man from carrying on business was an offence under the law of England. The prisoners must learn that they could not break the law with impunity, and each must go to prison for three months with hard labour.

Sir Geo.
Trevelyan,
Selkirk,
June 30,
1886.

"That which is called coercion is merely the putting in force the steps which are required to ensure conviction and to carry out the ordinary law."

The Conservative party have only used coercion as a means to prepare Ireland for the application of remedial legislation.

LIST OF IRISH COERCION ACTS.

| Date. | Acts. | Ministry. | Date. | Acts. | Ministry. |
|-------|---|-----------|-------|---|-----------|
| 1830 | Importation of Arms Act . . . | Cons. | 1833 | Change of Venue Act | Lib. |
| 1831 | Whiteboy Act . . . | Lib. | 1834 | Suppression of Disturbances Act (continuance) | " |
| 1831 | Arms Act | " | 1835 | Public Peace Act, five years . . . | " |
| 1833 | Suppression of Disturbances (Lord Grey's Act) | " | | | |

LIST OF IRISH COERCION ACTS—*continued*.

| Date. | Acts. | Ministry. | Date. | Acts. | Ministry |
|---------|--|--------------|-------|---|--------------|
| 1836 | Importation of Arms Act . . . | <i>Lib.</i> | 1855 | Crime and Outrage Act (continuance) . . | <i>Lib.</i> |
| 1838 | Ditto (continuance) . . . | " | 1856 | Peace Preservation Act . . . | " |
| 1839 | Unlawful Oaths Act . . . | " | 1856 | Unlawful Oaths Act (continuance) . . . | " |
| 1840 | Importation of Arms Act (continuance) . . | " | 1858 | Peace Preservation Act (continuance) . . | <i>Cons.</i> |
| 1841 | Houghing of Cattle Act . . . | " | 1860 | Ditto . . . | <i>Lib.</i> |
| 1841 | Importation of Arms Act (continuance) . . | " | 1862 | Ditto . . . | " |
| 1843 | Ditto Amendment | <i>Cons.</i> | 1862 | Unlawful Oaths Act (continuance) . . . | " |
| 1844-45 | Unlawful Oaths Act (continuance and Amendment) . . . | " | 1865 | Peace Preservation Act (continuance) . . | " |
| 1846 | Constabulary Force Act . . . | <i>Lib.</i> | 1866 | Habeas Corpus Suspension Act | " |
| 1847 | Crime and Outrage Act . . . | " | 1866 | Ditto (continuance) | <i>Cons.</i> |
| 1848 | Treason Amendment Act . . . | " | 1867 | Ditto ditto . . | " |
| 1848 | Removal of Aliens Act . . . | " | 1867 | Ditto ditto . . | " |
| 1848 | Habeas Corpus Suspension Act | " | 1868 | Ditto ditto . . | " |
| 1848 | Unlawful Oaths Act (continuance) . . . | " | 1870 | Peace Preservation Act . . . | <i>Lib.</i> |
| 1849 | Habeas Corpus Suspension Act | " | 1871 | Protection of Life and Property (Westmeath) Act . . . | " |
| 1850 | Crime and Outrage Act (continuance) . . | " | 1873 | Peace Preservation Act, &c. (continuance) . . | " |
| 1851 | Unlawful Oaths Act (continuance) . . . | " | 1875 | Ditto ditto . . | <i>Cons.</i> |
| 1852 | Crime and Outrage Act (continuance) . . | <i>Cons.</i> | 1881 | Protection of Life and Property Act | <i>Lib.</i> |
| 1853 | Ditto . . . | <i>Lib.</i> | 1881 | Arms Act . . . | " |
| 1854 | Ditto . . . | " | 1882 | Crimes Prevention Act . . . | " |
| | | | 1886 | Peace Preservation Act (continuance) . . | " |
| | | | 1887 | Criminal Law Amendment Act | <i>Cons.</i> |

Liberal, 38. Conservative, 11.

CHAPTER II.

IRISH LAND LEGISLATION.

LAND LAW ACT, 1887.

50 & 51
Vict. c. 33. THIS Act, which was carried through Parliament by the untiring efforts of the Chief Secretary, received Royal assent on Aug. 23, 1887.

Summary
of Act. Part I. contains nine sections dealing with leaseholders, subletting to labourers, &c. By section 5, judicial rents may commence on the day of *application* to the court, instead of the day of revision.

Part II., "Purchase of land," contains twenty-eight sections dealing with guarantee deposits, apportionment and redemption of annuities and charges. Section 19 defines the jurisdiction of the High Court to reduce rents in certain cases.

Part III., "equitable provisions," contains provisions for the temporary adjustment of judicial rents, and gives the court power to stay evictions.

Part IV. gives the rules, orders, &c.

At Portsmouth, June 5, 1889, *Mr Balfour* said: "You will recollect the Land Act which I had the honour to pass in 1887. . . . It provided a clause under which any tenant liable to eviction might appeal to an independent court of law, and by showing that he was unable to pay his debt to the landlord through circumstances for which he was not responsible, he might ask the court to stay the eviction upon such terms as it might think just."

RESULTS OF ACT.

In June 1891 there were 124 new applications for the disposal of rent disputes. Old applications disposed of 2026.

Nearly 240,000 rent disputes have come before the Commission and the courts: 221,000 have been disposed of.

Returns of
Land Com-
mission,
Aug. 1891.

The Land Commission has disposed of 6000 appeals.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND), 1888, "ASHBOURNE ACT."

On Nov. 19, 1888, *the Solicitor-General for Ireland, Mr Madden* (C.), moved for leave to introduce a bill "Further to facilitate the purchase of land in Ireland by increasing the amount applicable for that purpose by the Land Commission." He explained that this bill would provide an additional sum of £5,000,000. Under the Ashbourne Act of 1885, 14,338 agreements for purchase had been signed; the total amount applied for being £6,000,000. Of the repayments (£90,000) only £1100 was then outstanding.

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment, Nov.
and Dec.
1888.
Hansard,
Nov. and
Dec. 1888.

Mr Gladstone moved an amendment, which was negatived, extending the provisions of Mr Balfour's Act of 1887 so as to empower the courts to reduce or cancel arrears.

Mr Goschen said the bill merely intended to continue the benefits of the Act of 1885.

On Nov. 23, *Mr Parnell* moved an instruction in going into Committee, empowering them to take into account the amount of arrears due from tenants desirous of purchasing their holdings.

Mr W. H. Smith replied that it was not until the landlord and tenant had come to an agreement that the Commissioners had anything to do with the matter.

Messrs Dillon, Plunket, Gladstone, and others, took part in the discussion.

The instruction was negatived by 122 to 148 votes.

Sir W. Foster moved an amendment to clause 1, substituting £6,500,000 for £10,000,000 as the total

amount granted. After a discussion, in which *Mr Goschen*, *Sir G. Trevelyan*, *Messrs Plunket*, *Childers*, and others took part, the amendment was negatived by 212 to 154 votes.

An amendment by *Mr Sexton*, limiting the application of one-fourth to any one province, was withdrawn.

On Nov. 26, *Mr Parnell* moved an amendment providing that no money should be advanced for the purchase of more than one holding in the occupation of any one tenant, if such holding were of the rateable value of not less than £20 per annum.

Mr Balfour opposed it, and it was negatived by 154 to 111 votes.

Further amendments were moved by *Messrs Sexton*, *J. Morley*, *Conybeare*, and *Colonel Nolan*, which were negatived by large majorities.

On Nov. 27, in Committee, *Mr Balfour* agreed to amend the bill, limiting the advance to £3000, unless in any particular case the Commissioners consider it desirable to increase it to any sum under £5000, so as to enable the sale of an entire estate to be carried out.

After several amendments by *Messrs S. Lefevre*, *T. Healy*, *P. Mahoney*, and *T. P. O'Connor*, which were negatived, the bill was reported as amended.

On Nov. 28, several amendments were accepted by *Mr Balfour* and added to the bill.

On Nov. 29, *Dr Clark*, *Messrs Commings*, *Conybeare*, *Dillon*, *T. Healy*, and *Sir W. Lawson* opposed the bill. But after *Mr Balfour* had replied, the third reading was carried by 202 to 141 votes.

In the Lords, first reading, Nov. 30.

On Dec. 4, the Lord Chancellor moved the second reading.

Lords Aberdeen, Milltown, Denman, Spencer, Camperdown, and Derby took part in the debate, and the bill was read a second time.

On Dec. 6, in Committee, *Lords Howth, Fortescue, and Fitzgerald* discussed the different clauses. The bill was read a third time, passed, and sent back to Commons.

On Dec. 10, Lords' amendment was considered in Commons and agreed to.

Royal assent, Dec. 24, 1888.

51 & 52
Vict. c. 49.

Under the Land Purchase Acts, 21,000 applications have been sanctioned for loans amounting to £8,500,000, out of 27,000 applications.

PURCHASE OF LAND AND CONGESTED DISTRICTS ACT, 1891.

I cannot do better than summarise *Lord Cadogan's* speech to the House of Lords on June 25, in order to convey a clear idea of this last and comprehensive Land Act passed by the present Government.

Lord
Cadogan,
June 25,
1891.
House of
Lords.

The Land Bill of 1887, explained Lord Cadogan, was in a sense a connecting link between the policy of the Government and that of their predecessors. The only permanent solution of the Irish difficulty was to be found in a large and generous measure for the assistance of land purchase.

After referring to the Ashbourne Acts, he continued, that throughout all land legislation the same principles were adopted. The result of the procedure was to bring the State into immediate contact with the tenants. The leading principle of the bill was to pledge British credit, but subject to the control of the Imperial Parliament. The second object was to provide for the allocation of money which was to be lent for land purchase.

Commons.—Committee, April 9, 10, 13, 14, 17,

Passage
through
Parlia-
ment,
1891.

20, 21, 24, 28, and 30; May 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 21, and 22. Third reading, June 15. Division—for, 225; against, 96; majority, 129.

Lords.—Second reading moved by Lord Cadogan, June 25; carried, June 26; Committee, July 2 and 10.

July 23, Lords' amendments considered in Commons. Royal assent, Aug. 5, 1891.

Summary
of Act.

The objects of this Act are—(1) to enable tenants to purchase their holdings; (2) to advance money for this purpose on the security of Irish guarantees without any risk to the British taxpayer; (3) to improve the condition of the congested districts, by carrying out plans for roads, harbours, drainage works, &c.

REGISTRATION OF TITLE ACT, 1891.

Introduced by *Mr Madden* (C.), Irish Attorney-General, May 1891. This Act, which contains ninety-three clauses, cheapens and facilitates the transfer of property throughout Ireland. Royal assent, Aug. 5, 1891.

The Ashbourne Act of 1885 adopted the principle of registration of deeds. This provides the machinery in the form of a simple, inexpensive, and easily accessible Land Registry for the occupiers of land in Ireland; and for purchasers under the Ashbourne Act substitutes for the record of title previously existing, an improved system of land registration.

CHAPTER III.

PUBLIC WORKS AND RELIEF OF
DISTRESS.

IN their first session (1886) the Government appointed two Royal Commissions,—one to examine into the operation of the recent land laws, and one to investigate the capacity of Irish resources for development by public works.

I have traced their policy in respect to the land question. I will now endeavour to give an account of their remedial legislation.

(1) To give Ireland increased facilities for commercial enterprise.

(2) To meet the distress in congested districts, and to meet the partial failure of the potato crop in 1890-91.

It must be carefully borne in mind that this policy has been continuous, and has not been adopted at the eleventh hour in view of the General Election.

The results are happy in the extreme, and five years' Unionist rule in Ireland have solved the Irish problem—which, after all, only becomes a difficulty when the vacillation and incompetency of an English Government render the administration of the law all but impossible.

Mr Balfour said in June 1889: "Public works in Ireland have always been an essential part of the Unionist programme. . . . They would have advanced more already but for Radical opposition. *Mr Conyn-beare* objected to those bills."

Mr Balfour, Ports-mouth, June 5, 1889.

CO. CORK (TRAMORE) DRAINAGE ACT, 1889.

Mr Jackson and the *Solicitor-General* (*Mr J. Atkinson, Q.C.*) for Ireland, introduced a bill, March

Passage of bill

through
Parlia-
ment,
March-
April 1889.
52 Vict.
c. 1.

1, 1889, "to confirm a provisional order relating to the Tramore river drainage district, Co. Cork." Second reading, March 12; reported from Committee, March 22; third reading, March 26; agreement by Lords and Royal assent, April 11.

RIVER SUCK, 1890.

53 & 54
Vict. c. 12.

An Act for providing money for defraying costs, charges, and expenses incurred by the Drainage Board for the River Suck District. Royal assent, July 4, 1890.

50 Vict.
sess. 2.
c. 1.

Sir M. H. Beach and *Mr Jackson* introduced Provisional Order Bill relating to Follistown drainage district, Co. Meath, Jan. 31, 1887. Second reading, Feb. 8; Committee, Feb. 21; third reading, Feb. 22; House of Lords, March 14; Royal assent, March 29.

51 & 52
Vict. c.
xcvi.

Counties Tipperary and Cork Drainage and Improvement of Lands. Royal assent, July 24, 1888.

LIGHT RAILWAYS (IRELAND) ACT, 1889.

The peasantry along the west coast have always experienced the utmost difficulty in making a living out of the soil. Even for their modest production, it was formerly difficult to find a market; yet the fishing industry is capable of large development. The cost of the principal articles of food, such as potatoes, &c., is higher by £1 per ton on the west coast of Donegal than on the east. To obtain food of another description—viz., Indian meal, flour, or groceries, or such articles as iron, timber, and slates—cost the inhabitants in carriage, by ordinary carrier, £2 per ton. The bogs of Connemara and many other parts could only be developed by the extension of railways. Accordingly, *Mr Balfour* moved

for leave, on June 3, to introduce a bill to bring into operation a scheme for extending light railways through the poorer and congested districts of the west of Ireland. The Treasury to be empowered to make grants amounting to £600,000.

Mr Balfour,
House of
Commons
June 3,
1889.

Sir G. Trevelyan, Colonel Nolan, and Sir J. McKenna approved bill. Read first time.

In Committee, July 23, on the resolution sanctioning the grant of £600,000 and a guarantee of £20,000 on the capital of the railways, *Mr Storey, Sir G. Campbell, Mr H. Cossham, and Mr Childers* opposed resolution.

Mr Balfour and Mr Jackson explained that under the resolution there could either be an immediate capital expenditure, or an annual guarantee to railway companies, but not more than £600,000 in all could be expended.

In Committee, July 30, *Mr Storey* again obstructed the bill.

Mr W. H. Smith moved to refer it to Standing Trade Committee.

On the motion that the Standing Committee meet to-morrow, *Mr Storey and Mr Sexton* obstructed.

House of
Commons,
Aug. 1,
1889.

Sir M. H. Beach moved the closure, which was carried by 145 to 58 votes.

The bitterness of the obstruction on the part of the Gladstonians increased. The House sat continuously on the 18th and 19th for sixteen hours. Some of the Irish members joined the obstructionists.

Mr Balfour, Colonel Nolan, and Mr Sexton repeatedly appealed to the Committee not to kill the measure.

Mr Healy, Dr Tanner, Mr Knox, Captain Verney and Mr Conybeare moved a series of frivolous amendments from 2 A.M. till 6 A.M.

Mr Balfour appealed to those who desired to have the bill passed in its present form, which was the only shape in which it would be possible to carry it into law. The bill then passed Committee stage, and at 6 A.M. it was read a third time by 73 to 12 votes. House of Lords, second reading, Aug. 23; third reading, and sent back to Commons, Aug. 27; Royal assent, Aug. 30.

House of
Lords,
Aug. 23,
1889.

52 & 53
Vict. c. 66.
Summary
of Act.

Sub-section 2 provides that the Lord Lieutenant, by Order in Council, may declare that it is desirable that a light railway should be constructed between certain places for the development of fisheries or other industries. Such order to cease unless the same be constructed within a period to be mentioned in the said order.

Section 3 provides that the Act shall apply only—
(a) Where the promoters are an Irish railway company having a railway open for traffic. (b) Where the promoters have made an agreement approved by the Treasury for the maintenance, management, &c., of the light railway. (c) Where the promoters, in applying to the grand jury of any county (Tramways Act), propose that the baronies in the county shall guarantee the payment of dividends upon a portion of the paid-up capital of the light railway.

Section 4 regulates the Treasury agreements with and advances to railway companies.

Sub-section 4 specifies that a free grant or annual payment (as the case may be) shall be paid out of the moneys provided by Parliament.

By sub-section 5, any such loan shall be made by the Board of Works under the directions of the Treasury, out of the moneys at the disposal of such Board for local loans, on such terms as the Treasury may direct.

Section 6, sub-section 2, provides that any aid given in pursuance of this Act by any capital sum

or sums shall not exceed in the aggregate the sum of £600,000.

By section 7 modifications are made in the regulations of the Tramways and Public Companies Act, and rules laid down as to the merits of the proposed light railway as compared with any other light railway which might be constructed in the same district. The Board of Works may obtain the assistance of such persons skilled in these subjects as the Board of Works may consider necessary, with the consent of the Treasury, as to number.

Section 8 provides for the preparation and audit of accounts of expenditure.

Section 9 applies the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, and other similar Acts, so far as circumstances admit.

Section 10 extends the Act to any railway for which a presentment had been made for the purpose of a light railway at the summer Assizes, 1889.

RAILWAYS ACT, 1890.

“An Act to provide further facilities for the construction of certain railways in Ireland.” Royal assent, August 18, 1890. 53 & 54
Vict. c. 52.

This gives the Lord Lieutenant power to summon grand juries, and they are to have the same jurisdiction in all respects as a jury summoned by the judge at Assizes.

The first schedule gives a list of lines proposed: Galway to Clifden, Westport to Mallarany, Ballina to Killala, Headford to Kenmare, Killorglin to Valentia. These projects have since been carried out, and have been the means of averting misery and starvation from thousands of Irish homes.

The total number of labourers engaged in connection with these railway works was, on February 28, Mr Bal-
four,

House of Commons, July 22, 1891.
 Hansard, July 1891.

1891, 6812; May 23, 1891, 14,000; July 11, 1891, 11,000.

RADICAL OPPOSITION TO LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT EXPLAINED.

It was not until the split between Mr Parnell and the majority of the Irish parliamentary party that the reason of the bitter opposition to Mr Balfour's remedial legislation became known. It has not been contradicted by the leaders of the Gladstonian party, and it casts a very grave reflection upon their honesty as public men.

Freeman's Journal, Jan. 19, 1891.

Mr Parnell said at Tralee, on January 17, 1891: "During the year before last I was waited upon by a delegation of three members of Parliament, who stated to me that they were deputed to see me on behalf of the Radical members of the House of Commons—a body numbering about 120 or 130 strong—and they had greatly to complain of my action with regard to Mr Balfour's light railway scheme in the West of Ireland, and they called upon me to lead the Opposition against those bills. I declined to oppose them, as they were measures of some utility."

To prevent the Government having the credit of removing distress, these "Radical members" were willing to leave thousands of Irish peasants face to face with starvation.

MR BALFOUR'S TOUR AND THE DISTRESS IN IRELAND, 1890-91.

Queen's Speech, Nov. 25, 1890.
 Hansard, Nov. 1890.

At the opening of Parliament, Nov. 25, 1890, the Queen's Speech contained the following: "But I have learned, with deep regret, that a serious deficiency in the potato crop in certain parts of Ireland threatens the recurrence of one of those periods of

severe distress to which the population of the western counties are peculiarly exposed by the industrial and economic conditions under which they live. I trust the measures of my Government may mitigate the immediate evil, and diminish the probability of its return."

Mr Balfour's tour (Oct. 26 to Nov. 10) in Ireland enabled the Government to prepare their plans, based upon the Chief Secretary's own observations.

On Tuesday, Oct. 28, at Westport, the *Rev. Father Canning*, administrator, and *Mr P. J. Kelly*, chairman of the Board of Guardians, interviewed *Mr Balfour* at Mr Livingstone's house. *Father Canning* said, "The country was in a very bad state owing to the failure of the potato crop, and relief works were badly wanted." In reply *Mr Balfour* said, "There will be works, not called relief works, but better than any relief works, in the shape of railway construction, which are about to be made to the north and west from this town."

Mr Kelly (chairman, Guardians) stated that the district union would not be able to bear any extraordinary calls made upon it owing to exceptional distress.

At Achill Island, on Oct. 28, *Mr Balfour* said he was concerned for the failure, or nearly complete failure, of the potato crop in the island. He was glad to be able to have a railway constructed from Westport to Mulrally, and hoped further to extend it on to the Sound.

At Newport, Oct. 28, *Mr Balfour* said that the engineer informed him that some of the railway work could be begun at once, so as to meet the demand for labour which the failure of the potato crop must cause during the winter.

Mr Balfour visited Galway on Oct. 31; and at Killybegs, County Donegal, on Tuesday, Nov.

4, the *Rev. Father Martin* said they did not want public works to employ the people, as the railway works were commencing.

Daily
News,
Nov. 5,
1890.

It was announced at Dublin on this date (Tuesday, Nov. 4), that the Treasury had given to the Midland Great Western Railway Company the sum of £440,000, for the construction of three new lines—one from Galway to Clifden, another from Maryport to Mulrauny, and a third from Ballina to Killala—which sum will cover the total cost of their construction.

Daily
News,
Nov. 7,
1890.

At Glenties (County Donegal) on Thursday, Nov. 6, *Mr Balfour* said “that the railway requirements of the locality had been laid before the Irish Privy Council, who were not willing to permit the district to tax itself to the extent required for railway constructions ; but,” continued Mr Balfour, “after hearing Mr M. Davitt, I am prepared to give it to you without local taxation. I cannot avoid touching upon the probability of distress in many parts of Donegal. From the first moment when the rumour arose that the potato crop of the year 1890 was likely to fall short, the subject has been anxiously occupying my thoughts. As soon as the Government became aware of the pressure likely to fall on the population of these districts they immediately saw the necessity of pressing on the commencement of the work. I believe not only here, but elsewhere in Ireland, it will be found that these works will be begun at a period which must afford material relief to those who most need it, and I have felt satisfaction in being in part the responsible author of this great scheme of railway construction. I hope, in a portion of the Land Purchase Bill, which I trust will be passed by Parliament next session, for the poorer portions of Ireland, will be found the machinery to meet some of the great evils which I have noticed during my tour in Galway and Mayo. I also trust it

will meet the material wants of the Irish people and relieve those who are steeped to the lips in poverty whenever any failure touches your crops."

On Nov. the 7th, at Letterkenny, *Mr Balfour* stated that he had everywhere found the liveliest gratitude for the proposals of the Government. The poor farming and fishing population along the western counties of Mayo, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, and Cork were clearly of opinion that whatever steps might be necessary to deal with them, the initial step was to open up these congested districts by railway construction. That policy he meant to persevere in. It was some consolation to reflect that these very works to which they looked for permanent improvement would also minister to the immediate necessities of the people.

Daily
News,
Nov. 8,
1890.

In his speech at Liverpool on Nov. 18, *Mr Balfour* referred to his tour through the congested districts, and spoke hopefully of the course being pursued by the Government.

Mr Balfour gave notice in the House of Commons on Nov. 25 that "he would ask leave to introduce a bill to provide further funds for the purchase of land in Ireland, and for a Land Commission to provide for the improvement of the condition of the congested districts."

On Thursday, 4th Dec., *Mr Balfour* introduced a bill to provide for the supply of seed potatoes to occupiers and cultivators of land, and in Committee of Supply a supplemental vote was proposed, amounting to £5000, for certain expenses connected with the relief of Irish distress. *Mr Balfour* said the sum asked for was a trifling one. In order that they might be useful to persons living as far as ten or twenty miles away, he had arranged with the contractors for persons employed to lodge cheaply near

the scene of their labours, so as to be in a position to send at least 7s. weekly to their families. The work was of a description on which unskilled labour could be employed. He did not propose to employ any local authority in connection with the railway works, but he had sent two eminent engineer officers, who after himself would be responsible. Under them would be the county surveyors, with members of the corps of Royal Engineers as immediate supervisors. By these means they would probably prevent local jobbery. The amount to be given in wages would be under the control of these authorities, and therefore of the Government, and he would take care that the rate of pay—12s. or 14s. per week—should be a stronger inducement than for relief work pure and simple. He proposed also to utilise road-making. He had instructed the two engineer officers to proceed with this conditionally, that no road should, under any circumstance, be made which a prudent local authority would not readily maintain. Drainage of the lower slopes of mountains and the borders of bogs would also be undertaken. In addition to these operations, afforesting and the reclamation of land might be attempted. Practically he had created a small department to deal with all recommendations for relief works, consisting of himself and the two engineer officers. They would have the assistance of members of the Land Commission as experts, with clerical aid if necessary. By these means the congested districts would not be demoralised, but would be less liable to a recurrence of such a crisis. He hoped the priests and people had learned that the population, to be prosperous, must cultivate the land better, fish better, and employ to the best of their ability all natural resources.

Debate on
Supple-
mental
vote,

In the course of the debate which followed this speech, *Mr John Morley* said that he considered that *Mr Balfour* had adopted the right course in taking

the administration of the funds into his own hands and out of the supervision of the Board of Works.

£5000,
Potato
Seed Com-
mittee,
House of
Commons,
Dec. 4,
1890.
Hansard,
Dec. 1890.
54 Vict.
c. 1.

SEED POTATOES SUPPLY ACTS, 1890-91.

Royal assent, Dec. 9, 1890.

The Act consists of thirteen sections, which give the Guardians powers to borrow for the purpose of purchasing seed potatoes, &c.

A further Act for the same purposes received Royal assent on March 26, 1891.

In the Commons on July 22, 1891, on an additional vote for £160,000 for the relief of distress, *Mr Balfour* said that the potato loans amounted to £276,500.

Mr Bal-
four, July
22, 1891.
Hansard,
July 1891.

CHAPTER IV.

SUMMARY OF MR BALFOUR'S IRISH
POLICY.

IN addition to his land legislation and institution of public works, Mr Balfour organised a relief fund (amounting to £40,000), which was distributed in Galway and Donegal during the months of March, April, and May 1891.

Figures are more eloquent than phrases. In 1886, excluding threatening letters, 632 cases of agrarian crime occurred in Ireland. In 1890 only 320 cases occurred. Decrease, 312.

Decrease
of Agra-
rian
Crime.

| | PASSENGERS. | GOODS TRAFFIC. | |
|------------|------------------|----------------|-----------|
| 1886 . . . | 18,640,000 | £1,270,000 | Railways. |
| 1890 . . . | 20,293,000 | 1,369,000 | |
| Increase . | <u>1,653,000</u> | <u>£99,000</u> | |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|---|---|---------------|-------------------|
| Joint- Stock Banks. | Dec. 31, 1886 | . | . | Cash balances | £30,172,000 |
| | „ 1890 | . | . | „ | 33,325,000 |
| | Increase | . | . | . | <u>£3,153,000</u> |

TRUSTEE AND POST-OFFICE SAVINGS.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|---|---|---|---|-----------------|
| Post Office Savings Banks. | Dec. 31, 1886 | . | . | . | . | £4,710,000 |
| | „ 1890 | . | . | . | . | 5,696,000 |
| | Increase | . | . | . | . | <u>£986,000</u> |

DECREASE OF BOYCOTTING.

Persons boycotted :—

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|------|
| June 30, 1887 | . | . | . | . | . | 4901 |
| July 31, 1888 | . | . | . | . | . | 1179 |
| Aug. 31, 1889 | . | . | . | . | . | 313 |
| Dec. 31, 1889 | . | . | . | . | . | 152 |
| May 31, 1891 (leaving out the exceptional cases of Tipperary) | . | . | . | . | . | 91 |
| May 31, 1891 (including Tipperary cases) | . | . | . | . | . | 403 |

Decrease since 1887, 4498.

DECREASE OF EVICTIONS.

Lord
Salisbury,
House of
Lords,
March 21,
1890.
Hansard,
March
1890.

Returns
presented
to House
of Com-
mons,
1886-91.

“Figures show that when evictions were high, crime was not high, and when crime was high evictions were not high. During four years, from 1849 to 1852, there were 58,000 evictions, but only 4000 crimes. From 1879 to 1882 there were 12,000 evictions and 11,000 crimes.”

Since 1886 evictions have shown a considerable decrease. These are the figures :—

| | | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|---|------|
| 1886 | . | . | . | . | 3781 |
| 1887 | . | . | . | . | 3869 |
| 1888 | . | . | . | . | 1609 |
| 1889 | . | . | . | . | 1356 |
| 1890 | . | . | . | . | 1421 |

Decrease since 1887, 2448.

Mr Bal-
four, House
of Commons

During the first four months of 1891 the number of courts held under the Crimes Act was 31. There

were 33 cases. In the corresponding period of 1890 the courts numbered 71, cases 72, and persons tried 238. of Commons, May 7, 1891.

Chief Baron Palles opened the Assizes for county Limerick on March 6, 1891. He congratulated the jury on the condition of the county. Crime had diminished, boycotting had ceased to exist, and the Plan of Campaign was nearly extinct. The county was rapidly resuming its normal condition, and freedom from the disturbances which had marked the last few years. Chief Justice O'Brien, in the city court, also congratulated the grand jury.

A special edition of the 'Dublin Gazette,' published on June 13, 1891, notifies that it is no longer necessary to maintain the summary jurisdiction of the magistrates under the Crimes Act, excepting in County Clare, and small baronies in Leitrim, Donegal, Longford, Loughrea, Galway, and Tipperary. Ireland has to all intents and purposes ceased to be under any exceptional law. Crimes Act no longer necessary, June 1891.

CHAPTER V.

THE REAL AIMS OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT.

THE events of the early part of the year 1891 were a triumphant vindication of the policy of the Unionist party.

In 1886 the Liberal Unionists refused to support Home Rule, principally because they did not share the trust which Mr Gladstone reposed in the guarantees and promises of the Nationalists. If they had not stood firm in 1886, to what condition would Ireland and the empire generally have been reduced?

Could Mr Gladstone himself do other than gratefully acknowledge that it was their action which had prevented the whole Irish people from being in the hands of one autocratic Prime Minister? The Gladstonian said: "Let us have a union of hearts; we have assurances upon which we can rely; we have a strong leader of a united people assuring us that the concessions we make shall meet the final demands of the Irish people." The Unionists, however, replied that they placed no trust in Mr Parnell or his promises.

No measure of Home Rule before the country.

Mr Michael Davitt, in the 'Nineteenth Century' for Nov. 1890, writes: "There has been no satisfactory response to the growing anxiety of the rank and file of the Home Rule movement, as to what the next scheme of Home Rule will be. Friends and foes alike are still in the dark as to whether the next General Election is to be fought upon a definite and democratic Home Rule proposal, or upon the name and fame of Mr Gladstone alone."

In spite of the pressure of friend and foe alike, Mr Gladstone has given no indication as to the course he would adopt if returned to office. His Irish allies, however, have a very definite policy. Messrs J. M'Carthy, Dillon, William O'Brien, and Healy are using Mr Gladstone for their own selfish ends, *and Mr Gladstone knows it.*

The contract between them is simple enough. From the break-up of the United Kingdom they anticipate remunerative office in a separate Parliament at Dublin.

Mr Gladstone's reward for assisting them to despoil the empire is to be office in the English Parliament at Westminster.

Separation.

Mr Parnell has fallen a victim to the dishonourable treachery of men who have proved themselves as false to their friends and leader as they are to the empire. It is painful to mention the dead, but for

over four years, if a hint was thrown out that Mr Parnell aimed at separation, every Gladstonian organ gave an indignant denial. When the disruption of the Parnellites occurred, a change (by no means the first) took place in the tone of Radical speakers and writers. The 'Daily News' contained the following paragraph in a leading article: "Mr Parnell has been going about Ireland talking of separation, threatening separation, glorifying separation as the true object of an Irish patriot's hope."

Daily
News,
Jan. 23,
1891.

The Special Commission in 1890, after its prolonged and searching inquiry, warned us what the whole agitation against payment of rent really meant. "The Commissioners find that the respondents did enter into a conspiracy, by a system of coercion and intimidation, to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents, for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords, who were styled the 'English garrison.'" These respondents included all the prominent members of the present Nationalist party.

Special
Com-
mission
Report,
Feb. 1891.

A book, entitled 'Speeches from the Dock,' published by Mr T. D. Sullivan, M.P., 90 Middle Abbey Street, Dublin, 1890, contains laudatory notices of the rebels of 1798, such as Wolfe Tone and Emmett.

Mr T. D.
Sullivan
and an
Irish
Republic.

In the preface (p. 11): "We owe it to the brave men whose patriotism is attested in this volume, that the memory of their noble deeds shall not pass away. . . . The battle to which they devoted themselves has yet to be won. . . . If the hearts of the Irish people still throb with the emotions that prompted Emmett and Wolfe Tone—if their eyes are still not to see the independence of their country, their arms still ready to strike," &c.

In the extracts of speeches the following occur:—

P. 25—"From my earliest youth, I have regarded the connection between Great Britain and Ireland as

the curse of the Irish nation. . . . I was determined to employ all the powers which my individual efforts could move in order to separate the two countries. That Ireland was not able of herself to throw off the yoke, I knew. I therefore sought for aid wherever it was to be found."

P. 52—Robert Emmett: "I acted as an Irishman determined on delivering my country from the yoke of a foreign and unrelenting tyranny."

P. 88—John Mitchell's letter of May 1848: "The game is afoot at last. The liberty of Ireland may come sooner or later, by peaceful negotiation or bloody conflict—but it is sure; and wherever I may chance to be, I will hear the crash of the downfall of the thrice accursed British empire."

P. 105—John Martin's speech, Aug. 1848: "My object has been to assist in establishing the national independence of Ireland for the benefit of all the people—noblemen, clergymen, judges, professional men—in fact, all Irishmen. . . . I think national independence is the right of the people of this country."

P. 201—General Burke, April 24, 1867, said: "So long as England's flag covers one inch of Irish soil, just so long they would believe it to be a divine right to conspire, imagine, and devise means to hurl it from power."

'Speeches from the Dock' proceeds to eulogise Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, who were executed in 1867 for the murder of Sergeant Brett at Manchester, and calls them "gallant sons of Ireland."

At Naas, Co. Kildare, on Jan. 9, 1889, *Mr W. O'Brien*, M.P., said: "People forget that Kildare is the county of Wolfe Tone and Lord Edward Fitzgerald. . . . In every part of Ireland the Irish people have the same wrongs, the same aspirations deep down in their hearts."

These extracts might be continued by the score. There can be no questions as to the aims of the

Nationalist movement. It does not seek constitutional redress for existing grievances. It is founded upon hatred and passion, and its object is the creation of an independent Ireland, which would be an intolerable calamity not only to Great Britain, but to Ireland herself.

CHAPTER VI.

THE IRISH LOYALISTS.

IN moving the adoption of the report of the Judges of the Special Commission, Lord Salisbury said: "This report, which I ask you to adopt and to record upon the journals of the House, will infinitely increase your responsibility if, in spite of the lessons it teaches you, and the revelations it has made to you, you hand over to this bitter criminal conspiracy the lives of those who, through good report and evil report, for many centuries have stood by you."

Lord Salisbury,
House of
Lords,
March 21,
1890.
Hansard,
March
1890.

Whatever their numerical strength may be, whether two millions or only a million and a half, these Irish Loyalists have a right to a voice in determining the future of their country. They have suffered long and patiently. Abuse and contumely have been lavished upon them. Even an ex-Minister of the Crown has not hesitated to vilify the supporters of law and justice in Ireland.

At Southampton, April 26, 1889, *Sir William Harcourt* said: "I tell you what the *loyal minority* in Ireland means—the favouritism of class; the privilege of race; the exclusive right of creed. We ought to be ashamed of the loyal minority. . . . Lord Salisbury says, 'we will give you local self-government, . . . but it must not interfere with the loyal minority.' It means that there shall be

Daily
News,
April 27,
1889.

local self-government where the minority and not the majority are to govern, and in my opinion that is worth nothing."

But in spite of Sir William Harcourt the Union is secure, thanks chiefly to this minority of which he is ashamed.

Not the least important of the Loyalists scattered all over Ireland are the Nonconformists, who have steadfastly refused to associate themselves with the Nationalist movement.

Irish Non-conformist banquet to Lords Salisbury and Hartington, London, Nov. 14, 1888.

A most important event showing the feelings of these Nonconformists took place on Nov. 14, 1888, when a banquet was given to the leaders of the joint Unionist party—*Lord Salisbury* and *Lord Hartington*. On this occasion an *address* was presented to these two statesmen, the importance of which cannot be overrated. It was signed by 864 ministers of religion belonging to the non-Episcopal churches, out of a total of 990 ministers in Ireland. The greater part of those who from some cause or other failed to sign the address (these only amounted to 126 out of 990) were supporters of the Union. Only eight Nonconformist ministers in the whole of Ireland declared themselves supporters of the Nationalist movement.

The 864 who signed the address represented the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist Churches. They said in their address that, unlike their English, Scotch, and Welsh Nonconformist brethren, they had a personal knowledge of the conditions of the Irish people; that they loved their country as ardently as any Nationalist, and that they would regard the granting of Home Rule as the greatest possible calamity which could befall Ireland.

Address from Pres-

The *Rev. W. Park*, Belfast, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church,

issued on Dec. 16, 1890, an address to the Nonconformists of England, Scotland, and Wales, which appeals to their brethren to consider the question of Home Rule in the light of the Parnellite-Nationalist split, and claims the right of the Presbyterians of Ireland to continue under the direct protection of the Imperial Parliament, and not to have their interests placed at the mercy of a party which has shown itself to be as incapable of self-restraint as it has been regardless of the principles of moral law. It also notices with regret that Mr Gladstone declined co-operation with Mr Parnell, not on the ground of moral principle but of political expediency.

byterians
in Ireland
to English
Noncon-
formists,
Dec. 16,
1890.

THE UNION.

Lord Spencer said at Newport (Mon.), on Oct. 15, 1890: "At the same time, since the Union great improvements have taken place. Education has been spread, means of communication have been improved, the bogs have been drained, public works have been carried out, and local administration has been improved; the terrible jobbery that existed in the old days has been put to an end, we have had the disestablishment and disendowment of the Protestant Church in a Roman Catholic country. We have improved the land laws, and removed—though we have not removed all the injustices—a great many injustices connected with those laws. We have given the people the ballot. They are now able to vote freely, and express their own opinions. We have given them the same electoral franchise as we have ourselves. All this we have done, and I don't wish to lose sight of it."

CHAPTER VII.

SYNOPSIS OF IRISH HISTORY, A.D. 1154-1891.

- 1154. Ireland granted to Henry II. by the Pope.
- 1177. John, son of Henry, nominated Lord of Ireland.
- 1295. Members for counties sent to Dublin Parliament.
- 1315, 1316. Edward and Robert Bruce invade Ireland.
- 1318. Edward Bruce defeated and killed near Dundalk.
- 1331, 1338. English ordered to be used and English officials appointed.
- 1341. Burgesses sitting in Irish Parliament.
- 1366. Statute of Kilkenny. Forcing English customs on Irish.
- 1394, 1399. Richard II. in Ireland.
- 1459. Irish Parliament declares Ireland independent of English legislation.
- 1494. Poyning's law prohibited Irish Parliament from passing any law which had not received the sanction of the English Council.
- 1542. Henry VIII. took the title of King of Ireland instead of Lord of Ireland.
- 1565-1602. Insurrections of O'Neill, Tyrone, Bagnal, &c.
- 1611. Colonisation of Ulster by natives of Great Britain.
- 1641. Irish Rebellion.
- 1649. Landing of Cromwell.
- 1652. Cromwellian settlement. Land of Irish in Ulster, Munster, and Leinster confiscated and distributed among the adventurers who had lent money for the war, and the soldiers of the Republic. Innocent Papists compensated by land in Connaught.
- 1661-65. The Restoration. Acts of Settlement and Explanation passed by which those who had lent money for the war were confirmed in their lands. Soldiers who had served the King before 1649 to receive the value of five-eighths of their pay in land; innocent Papists not concerned in Rebellion to receive back their lands.
- 1689. Irish Catholics under Tyrconnel repeal Act of Settlement and join James II.
- 1690. Battle of the Boyne.
- 1691. Battle of Aughrim. Capitulation of Limerick. Catholics forbidden to sit in Irish Parliament.
- 1692. Severe laws passed against Catholics with regard to posses-

sion of their property, education of their children, and exercise of their religion.

- 1695. Irish Parliament repeals all Acts of James II.'s Parliament of 1691.
- 1704, 1713. Test and Schism Acts extended to Ireland.
- 1719. Toleration Act passed by Irish Parliament, and statute to enable English Parliament to legislate for Ireland.
- 1727. Catholics forbidden to vote.
- 1779. Dissenters admitted to office by Act of Irish Parliament.
- 1780. Irish Volunteers demand legislative independence, and help the Parliament. Free trade granted to Ireland.
- 1781. Permanent Mutiny Bill passed.
- 1782. Grattan's Declaration of Right demanding repeal of c. 6 Geo. I. Poyning's law relating to initiation of Irish legislation by English Council. Perpetual Mutiny Act. Recognition of Irish House of Peers as Court of Appeal in last resort.
- 1783. Flood's motion for Reform rejected.
- 1785. Mr Pitt proposed commercial freedom for Ireland, but Opposition in House of Commons forced him to abandon it.
- 1789. Regency dispute and quarrel with English Parliament.
- 1791. Formation of United Irishmen.
- 1792, 1793. Catholic Relief Bills admitting them to franchise but not to Parliament or public offices, passed by Grattan.
- 1794. Lord Fitzwilliam, Viceroy of Ireland; and United Irishmen applied to France and prepared for rebellion.
- 1795. Lord Camden, Viceroy.
- 1796. French Expedition to Ireland dispersed by storm, and failed.
- 1798. Irish Rebellion. O'Connor, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others arrested. Lord Cornwallis succeeded Lord Camden. Insurrection. General Lake defeated rebels at Vinegar Hill (*June 2*). Humbert's expedition.
- 1800. Bill for Union of England and Ireland passed Irish Parliament. Act for Union of Great Britain and Ireland passed by British Parliament.
- 1803. Emmett's insurrection.
- 1828. O'Connell elected for County Clare.
- 1829. Repeal Catholic disabilities.
- 1831. Many outrages in Ireland.
- 1833. Reform of Irish Church. Coercion Act passed.
- 1834. O'Connell's motion for repeal of Union thrown out by 523 to 38 votes. Irish Coercion Act renewed.
- 1838. Irish Poor Law passed. Tithe Bill passed both Houses, and tithes commuted.
- 1840. Irish Municipal Act passed. Agitation for repeal of Union.

- 1842. Young Ireland movement began.
- 1843. O'Connell and repeal leaders arrested at Clontarf, near Dublin.
- 1844. Trial of O'Connell; sentenced to one year's imprisonment and £2000 fine; sentence reversed on technical error.
- 1845. Sir Robert Peel founded Queen's Colleges for improvement of undenominational education.
- 1846. Peel's Government defeated on Irish Coercion Bill. Potato famine. Wholesale emigration. Population of Ireland decreased.
- 1847. Lord J. Russell granted £10,000,000 for relief of Irish distress.
- Coercion Act passed for Ireland.
- 1848. Habeas Corpus Act suspended.
- Abortive rebellion under Smith O'Brien. Transportation of leaders.
- 1849. Encumbered Estates Act to facilitate the sale of encumbered properties.
- 1850. Irish Tenant Right League formed.
- 1852. Crawford's Tenant Right Bill rejected in House of Commons.
- 1856. Miall's motion in favour of Irish Disestablishment rejected by 70 votes.
- 1859. O'Donovan Rossa's Club formed. Nucleus of Fenianism.
- 1860. Relations of landlord and tenant based on contract.
- 1865. Arrest of Fenian leaders.
- 1866. Habeas Corpus Act suspended. Fenian insurrection.
- 1868. Mr Gladstone moved resolution favouring Disestablishment of Irish Church.
- 1869. Irish Church disestablished and partially disendowed.
- 1870. **Irish Land Act** passed. By this Act Ulster tenant-right and similar customs in other parts of Ireland receive legal status.
- New rights conferred on tenants with reference to compensation for disturbance by the act of landlord, except in the case of eviction for nonpayment of rent. Compensation given for improvements. Facilities given for the loan by Government of two-thirds of the purchase-money to tenants desirous of buying holdings from landlords willing to sell.
- Home Government Association formed.
- Coercion Act passed by Mr Gladstone's Government.
- 1871. Mr Gladstone's second Coercion Act passed—"Westmeath Act."
- 1873. Mr Gladstone's third Coercion Act, "Peace Preservation Continuance."
- Home Rule League substituted for Home Government Association.

1874. General election—Conservative majority. Home Rulers, including Mr Parnell, become prominent in Commons.
1877. Birth of obstruction by Irish members.
1879. Land League formed. Severe distress.
1880. Agitation in connection with land question. General election—Liberal majority.
1881. Mr Gladstone's fourth Coercion Act passed. Mr Gladstone's second Land Act passed. It provided that any existing tenant might sell his interest in his holding to the best bidder, and that the purchaser acquired all the rights of the seller as a present tenant. Every present yearly tenant (or his assignee) had a right to apply to a court to fix a judicial rent subject to statutory conditions. The judicial rent not to be altered for fifteen years, and tenant not to be disturbed except by his own act. At the end of fifteen years tenant to be at liberty to apply for another term, subject to revision of rent. The breach of any of the statutory conditions to involve the determination of the present tenancy by compulsory sale, and the new tenant to come in without the rights of a present tenant.
1881. Enormous increase of agrarian outrages; total for year, 4439.
— Mr Gladstone's fifth Coercion Act passed. "Arms Act."
— *Oct.*—Messrs Parnell, Dillon, Sexton, O'Kelly, and others arrested in Dublin, and imprisoned *without trial*.
1882. Agrarian crimes for first quarter, 1417.
— *May 2.*—Release of Messrs Parnell, Dillon, and Sexton. "The Kilmainham Treaty." Resignation of Mr W. E. Forster.
— *May 6.*—Assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr Burke in Phoenix Park, Dublin.
— Mr Gladstone's sixth Coercion Act (July 12). Suspended trial by jury. Defined as punishable offences intimidation, secret conspiracies, and illegal assembly. It controlled newspapers, levied compensation ("blood-money") in districts where murders or maiming were perpetrated. Gave summary jurisdiction to special stipendiary magistrates.
— *Aug.*—Arrears Act passed, in compliance with the Kilmainham treaty. £1,820,586 arrears wiped out.
— Agrarian outrages for year, 3433.
- 1883 and 1884. Vigorous administration of Coercion Act by Lord Spencer and Sir George Trevelyan. Diminution of agrarian outrages.
1885. *Aug.*—Mr Gladstone's Crimes Act expired.
— Conservatives in office. Lord Ashbourne's Act passed, allo-

- cating £5,000,000 for land purchase. Tenant can pay for his holding by an annuity payable in 49 years.
1885. *Nov.*—General election. Mr Gladstone asked for clear majority over Ministerialists and Parnellites, which the country refused him. Mr Parnell's manifesto denouncing the Liberal party. Mr Parnell returned at the head of 85 followers.
- *Dec.*—Sudden conversion of Mr Gladstone to the principle of "Home Rule."
1886. *Jan.*—Queen's speech announced intention of Lord Salisbury's Government to ask Parliament for necessary powers to cope with organised intimidation. Defeat of the Government by Gladstonians and Parnellites on Mr Jesse Collings's Allotment amendment.
- *Feb.*—Formation of a Ministry by Mr Gladstone.
- *April.*—Break up of Liberal party on Mr Gladstone's proposal to concede a separate Parliament to Ireland. Lord Hartington, Lord Selborne, Sir H. James, Mr J. Chamberlain, Mr John Bright, Mr Jesse Collings, Sir George Trevelyan, and others form a separate party called "Liberal Unionists."
- *June 6.*—Mr Gladstone's Home Rule Bill defeated in the Commons by 341 to 311 votes.
- *July.*—General election. Total defeat of Mr Gladstone. 317 Conservatives; 75 Liberal Unionists; 193 Gladstonians 85 Parnellites returned.
- *Aug.*—Formation of Lord Salisbury's second Administration.
- *Aug. 19.*—Lord Randolph Churchill (Chancellor of the Exchequer) stated that Ministerialist policy would comprise three heads—Social Order, Land Question, and Local Government. Appointment of Royal Commission to investigate the relations between landlord and tenant, and to report whether, by the outlay of public money, resources of Ireland could be developed.
- *Sept.*—Gladstonian and Parnellite alliance to obstruct Ministerial legislation first commenced.
- "Plan of Campaign" organisation started. Details published in 'United Ireland,' Oct. 21. Chief supporters, Messrs William O'Brien and John Dillon. Tenantry to combine and demand reduction of rent. If refused by landlord, to deposit their rents with a trustee, and by united action to compel landlord to accept terms.
- *Dec.*—Trial of Mr Dillon for inciting to an illegal combination. Court of Queen's Bench, Dublin, held that the "Plan of Campaign" was "*clearly, absolutely, and distinctly illegal.*"

1886. *Dec.* 18.—Proclamation of the “Plan of Campaign” in ‘Dublin Gazette’ as an unlawful conspiracy.
- Agrarian outrages for year, 1056.
1887. *Jan.* 12.—Glenbeigh evictions, Co. Kerry. Tenants owed £6177 arrears. Mr Roe, agent, agreed to accept half a year’s rent and remit arrears. Offer accepted by tenants, who gladly agreed to pay £865 instead of £6177 due. Later, Mr Sheehan, M.P., and other agitators induced tenants to repudiate this arrangement. 21 evictions in consequence. P.P. Rev. Father Quilter wrote: “I leave poor slaves of the National League who will not keep their word.”
- *Feb.* 7.—Mr Parnell’s amendment to the Address declaring relations between occupiers and landlords had not been disturbed where reductions of rents had been made. Negatived by 352 to 246 votes. *Feb.* 11.
- *March* 4.—Lord Fitzgerald, in the Lords, called attention to Irish jury laws. Lord Bramwell said that so-called “jury-packing” was only the exclusion of men who would not do their duty.
- *March* 18.—Mr J. Dillon called the attention of Commons to the arrest of Father Keller for refusing to give evidence in the Bankruptcy Court.
- *April* 5.—Mr Balfour moved second reading Criminal Law Amendment Bill. After long and persistent obstruction the Bill passed the Commons. *July* 8.
- *July* 14.—Mr Balfour’s Land Bill read a second time.
- *Aug.* 18.—Commons agreed with Lords’ amendments. Land Act enables leaseholders to apply to Land Courts, contains provisions for purchase of land, &c.
- *Aug.* 19.—Proclamation of the National League under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, by the Lord Lieutenant.
- *Sept.* 14.—The brutal murder of Head-Constable Whelan at Lisdoonvarna discussed in Lords.
- Agrarian outrages during the year, 883.
1888. *Feb.* 13.—Mr Parnell moved an amendment to the Address condemning the administration of the Crimes Act. Negatived by 317 to 229 votes.
- *Feb.* 27.—On the motion of Mr Balfour, Committee appointed to inquire into the working of the Irish Sunday Closing Acts.
- *April* 8.—Riot at Ennis.
- *April* 12.—Mr Parnell called attention of Commons to the Ennis disturbance. Authorities justified by Mr Balfour.
- *May* 3.—Lord Carnarvon made personal explanation in Lords

with regard to his interview with Mr Parnell in 1885. Lord Carnarvon denied having expressed his opinion that the Irish difficulty could be settled by the grant of an Irish Parliament with power to protect native industries.

1888. *May 7.*—Timber Bill, giving judicial tenants the same rights of compensation for trees planted, &c., as leaseholders, read second time in Lords. Subsequently passed.

— *July 12.*—Duke of Argyll expressed approval of Government policy in restoring personal freedom to the Irish people.

— Agrarian outrages during year, 660 (including threatening letters).

1889. *March 1.*—Mr Morley's amendment to the Address, condemning the administration of the Crimes Act, defeated by 339 to 260 votes.

— *April 12.*—In reply to Mr Parnell, Mr Goschen attributed the evictions in Donegal to the fact that the people were prevented by the Plan of Campaign from paying their rents.

— *May.*—Disturbances at Falcarragh. Arrest of Mr Harrison and Mr Conybeare, M.P., for illegal conspiracy to defeat the action of the Courts.

— *May.*—Luggacurran evictions. Tenants owed $3\frac{1}{2}$ years' rent. 20 per cent reduction was offered by Lord Lansdowne.

— *June 3.*—Light Railways Bill read first time, on motion of Mr Balfour.

— *June.*—Arrest of Mr W. O'Brien for taking part in an illegal meeting for the furtherance of the Plan of Campaign.

— *July 19.*—Second reading of Mr Balfour's Light Railways Bill carried by large majority.

— *July.*—Enforcement of legal obligations on the Olphert estate.

— *July.*—Dr Tanner, M.P., sentenced to three months' imprisonment for contempt of Court.

— *Aug. 28.*—Debate in Commons on Irish education. Mr Balfour expressed an opinion that provision should be made for higher education of Roman Catholics.

— Agrarian outrages during year . . . 340

Threatening letters . . . 194

Total . . . 534

1890. *Feb. 18.*—Mr Parnell's amendment to the Address defeated by 307 to 240 votes. Gladstonians were compelled to admit the improved condition of Ireland.

— *Feb.*—Arrests at Clongorey. Imprisonment of Father Kinsella for promoting Plan of Campaign.

— *March 14 and 20.*—Debates in Commons on the administration of Crimes Act.

- 1890. *March 24.*—Introduction of Land Purchase Bill by Mr Balfour.
- *April 24.*—Further debate in Commons on Land Purchase Bill.
- *April 25.*—Provision of funds for Suck Drainage Bill.
- *June 1.*—Meeting at New Tipperary suppressed. Messrs Dillon and O'Brien sought to promote intimidation and boycotting which had for some time prevailed in that town.
- *June and July.*—Continuance of the contest on Mr Smith Barry's estate.
- *July 28.*—Debate in Commons on statement made by Mr Justice Harrison at Galway, as to intimidation and outrage prevalent.
- *Aug. 15.*—Mr Balfour pressed forward his Railways Bill to meet the threatened distress in the West of Ireland. Obstruction by group of Irish and Radical members. All-night sitting.
- *Sept. 25.*—Trial of Messrs W. O'Brien and Dillon at Tipperary.
- *Oct.*—Flight of Messrs O'Brien and Dillon from English territory.
- *Oct. 25 to Nov. 8.*—Mr Balfour's tour through Connemara and Donegal.
- *Nov. 18.*—O'Shea *v.* O'Shea and Parnell. Decree *nisi*.
- *Nov. 19.*—Irish delegates in America declared for Mr Parnell.
- *Nov. 20.*—Great meeting at Leinster Hall, Dublin. Messrs J. M'Carthy, Healy, and other Nationalists expressed their unalterable determination to support Mr Parnell as leader of Irish party.
- *Nov. 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25.*—Enthusiastic support promised to Mr Parnell by the Nationalist members at various meetings.
- *Nov. 25.*—Meeting of Irish party in House of Commons. Mr Parnell, on the motion of Mr Sexton, was unanimously elected chairman.
- *Nov. 26.*—Publication of Mr Gladstone's ultimatum. Break up of the Irish party, and confusion among the Opposition.
- *Nov. 28.*—Mr Parnell's manifesto to the people of Ireland. Outbreak of conspiracy to depose Mr Parnell.
- *Dec.*—Stormy meetings of Irish party in Committee Room, No. 15. Priests and the renegade members of Parliamentary party sought to drive Mr Parnell from public life.
- *Dec. 22.*—North Kilkenny election. Sir J. Pope Hennessy, anti-Parnellite, and nominee of the priests, returned. Mr

- Parnell seriously injured by anti-Parnellite mob. Agrarian outrages during year (excluding threatening letters), 300.
1891. *Jan.* Mr Parnell's campaign in Ireland. Favourably received by Irish people. Speeches at Tralee and elsewhere justifying "separation" as the object of his political career.
- *Feb. and March.*—Increased bitterness between Mr Parnell's supporters and opponents. Mr T. Healy, anti-Parnellite, seriously assaulted. Intervention of Irish constabulary to protect the contending factions.
- *April 2.*—Mr Collery, anti-Parnellite, returned for Sligo.
- *April 17.*—Mr Parnell's manifesto to National League.
- *May 22.*—Mr Parnell's speech at Belfast.
- *June 29.*—New Tipperary offered for sale. Agrarian outrages (exclusive of threatening letters) for six months ending June 25, 120.
- *July 7.*—Mr J. Hammond, anti-Parnellite, returned for Carlow.
- *July 27, and Aug. 3.*—Mr Parnell and other Irish members spoke on behalf of imprisoned dynamiters, and moved for their release. Sir Wm. Harcourt opposed the motion.
- *Aug. 5.*—Irish Land Purchase Bill received Royal assent.
- *Sept.* Mr Parnell continued his campaign in Ireland against the deserters. Messrs Dillon and O'Brien joined his enemies.
- *Oct. 6.*—Death of Mr Parnell at Brighton. His last message: "Give my love to my colleagues and the Irish people."
- *Oct. 11.*—Funeral of Mr Parnell at Glasnevin, Dublin. Attended by 200,000 people. National mourning in Ireland.

PART IV.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL POLICY.

IT would be almost impossible to over-praise the administration of the Foreign Office by Lord Salisbury. It has been wisely said that he desires not praise or appreciation, still less blame, for discussion makes his duties difficult. But Lord Salisbury, at the Mansion House, July 29, 1891, said: "I never knew a period when there was less of foreign difficulty or trouble;" and the result to which he can point is a higher commendation than any words could be. Speaking of the future of Eastern Europe, whence danger to peace would most probably come, he continued: "There are two nations growing up whose high promise and rapid development furnish a hope that from the centres of civilisation which they constitute will issue an influence and a spirit by which the Eastern question will be solved. The growth of Egypt and Bulgaria in all the elements which make a nation strong has been wonderful." And what object can be greater than to encourage two nations who will help to secure to the world the blessings of peace? "We have a simple rule. Our allies are all those who desire peace and goodwill. During the

Lord
Salisbury,
Mansion
House,
July 29,
1891.

years we have been in office that has been our principal object to maintain," continued Lord Salisbury.

In no quarter of the globe have our interests been menaced or assailed, and so we have had no cause to resort to the arbitrament of war. The knowledge on the part of the world that we have a Minister who is straightforward, but at the same time firm as few British Ministers ever have been, is in itself our surest guarantee for peace.

Since 1886 some of the most momentous questions have been settled. The Afghan frontier, the settlement of Burmah, the suppression of the slave trade, and the partition of Africa, are among the achievements to which Lord Salisbury can lay claim.

CHAPTER I.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

AFGHANISTAN.

House of
Commons,
July 25,
1887.

THE earliest triumph of the Government was with regard to the Afghan frontier. In July 1887, Sir J. Fergusson was able to state that the boundary had been settled, and that the arrangement only awaited ratification.

Sir J.
Fergusson,
House of
Commons,
Aug. 4,
1887.

Lord
Salisbury,
House of
Lords, July
25, 1887.

The Russian frontier line was advanced eleven and a half miles towards Herat, but this was of no strategical importance. The Sarak Turcomans were given back by Afghanistan the lands previously occupied by them on the Kushk and Kashar, estimated at 875 square miles. The lands ceded to Afghanistan near the Oxus amounted to 770 miles.

The Ameer agreed to this arrangement between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia, and

the Queen's Speech, Sept. 16, 1887, contained this paragraph: "The protracted negotiations which have taken place between the Emperor of Russia and myself in regard to the line of frontier which we should agree to recognise as forming the northern limit of Afghanistan, have been brought to a satisfactory termination; and the Ameer has readily accepted the boundary which the two Powers have laid down. I hope that this Convention will conduce powerfully to the maintenance of a durable peace in Central Asia."

Sir J. Fergusson, House of Commons, Aug. 30, 1887.
Queen's Speech, Sept. 16, 1887.

A Blue-book containing the correspondence relating to the negotiations between the British and Russian Boundary Commissioners at St Petersburg was presented to Parliament in Aug. 1887 (Central Asia, C. 5114), from which it appears that on July 22 Sir Robert Morier telegraphed to Lord Salisbury announcing that the final protocol of the Afghan frontier Commission had been signed that day by Colonel Sir J. W. Ridgeway and Mr Zinoviev. Subsequently Sir J. Ridgeway wrote describing the nature of the settlement by which the Ameer restored to the Sarak Turcomans most of the lands of which they had been deprived, in exchange for the withdrawal of the Russian claims to the Afghan possessions on the Oxus, and to the wells and pastures necessary for the prosperity of the Uzbeks of Afghan Turkestan. The main features of the settlement were as follows:—

Blue-book, C. 5114.

Aug. 1887.

| | Restored by Afghans. | Conceded by Russia. |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Number of square miles of cultivation . | 6¼ | 26½ |
| Number of square miles of waste . | 818½ | 707¾ |
| Number of wells in waste | 1 | 19 |
| Population | nil | 13,000 |
| Revenue | nil | £1400 |

It will be remembered that in April 1885 Mr Gladstone nearly plunged us into war with Russia upon this question.

Treaty
between
Great
Britain
and China,
1887.

In the course of the same year (1887) we arranged with France as to the New Hebrides, and made a treaty with China.

In 1888 the neutrality of the Suez Canal was secured, and concessions obtained from the Sultan of Zanzibar.

European
Conference
on slave
trade, 1889
to 1891.

In 1889 the Slavery Conference met and arrived at some important resolutions, and a convention was concluded between this country and Germany and the United States respecting Samoa.

Samoa
Conven-
tion, 1890.

In the early part of 1890 a Portuguese force in Mozambique came into collision with native tribes under British protection. Upon the representation of Lord Salisbury this force was withdrawn.

A commercial convention was concluded with the Khedive of Egypt, and a provisional arrangement made for adjusting fiscal questions with Bulgaria.

In conjunction with the South African Republic, a commissioner was sent to inquire into the disordered state of Swaziland.

EGYPT.

Lord
Salisbury,
Mansion
House,
Aug. 6,
1890.

“If Egypt is growing in prosperity and security of every kind; if all the abuses which long generations of misrule have fastened upon her are disappearing one by one, let there be no mistake about it: it is to English energy, English administration, and English traditions that this great result is due. The time may come—will come, I hope—when these great achievements may be perpetuated without the aid of the great race to whom they were originally due. But the time has not come yet; and we should be compromising every chance of securing to posterity the great advantages which for the present we have produced.”

From a Blue-book published in Dec. 1890, it appears that the total number of Englishmen em-

ployed in the service of the Egyptian Government is 336, at an annual salary of £150,317.

“What we have accomplished for the benefit of the Egyptian people is shown in the recent speech of Riaz Pasha, the Khedive’s Prime Minister, who remarked that, while under the old *régime* no tax was ever repealed and the peasantry were remorselessly plundered on all hands by corrupt officials, now taxation is steadily reduced from year to year, forced labour has been abolished, and justice is brought within the reach of the poorest cultivator of the soil. A report by Surgeon-Major Laffan, the principal medical officer of the Egyptian army, gives a detailed account of the frauds that were practised till lately in every branch of the military department, and which English authority has now put an end to.

The results
of Sir E.
Baring’s
adminis-
tration.

“Another illustration of the beneficent working of English rule in Egypt is supplied by the report on the Nile Barrage. This barrage is a great river-dam, consisting of two bridges placed across the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile where they divide at the apex of the Egyptian Delta. The arches of these bridges are intended to be fitted with gates, by dropping which the water can be held up and diverted into three main canals, the sources of irrigation to the whole of Lower Egypt. This great work, built at a cost of nearly two millions, was so badly constructed that the arches cracked, settlements took place, and no serious attempt was made to use it after 1867. The barrage has now been reconstructed at a cost of half a million by English engineers from India; and Sir Colin Moncrieff estimates that, as the result of their labours, the value of the Egyptian cotton crop alone has already been increased by nearly a million sterling.”

A further report by Sir Evelyn Baring, issued in May 1891, states that the reforms already accomplished, or in course of progress, include the abolition

Parlia-
mentary
paper, C.
6321, May
1891.

of forced labour, physical intimidation, and administrative corruption.

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA.

Lord
Salisbury,
Mansion
House,
Aug. 6,
1890.

“Perhaps it is that very peacefulness of current affairs in Europe that has removed Europe almost entirely from the ken of those who are interested in foreign affairs. We think of Africa and nothing else but Africa now. I don’t think it is because Africa has become more interesting, but because Europe has become less interesting. I am not surprised at the attention which has been given to the great and splendid discoveries of our explorers and the explorers of other nations, and the development of industry and enterprise that is taking place in that vast and long-neglected continent.”

Convention
with
Germany
respecting
Africa,
1890.

The Government in 1890 turned its attention to the possible conflict of territorial claims in Africa. The foreign Powers chiefly interested in the Dark Continent were approached, and the boundaries marked out. A convention was concluded with Germany by which we acquired a firm hold upon many thousand square miles of territory. The island of Heligoland was ceded by us in exchange.

Convention
with
France
respecting
Africa,
1890.

With France also an agreement was signed by which British territories on the borders of French possessions are clearly defined.

Since 1886 we have acquired some twenty millions of fresh territory : whereas under Mr Gladstone we lost the Transvaal, 112,000 square miles ; Angra Pequena, 115,000 square miles ; part of New Guinea, 70,000 square miles.

Agreement
with
Portugal,
1891.

The Anglo-Portuguese treaty was laid on the table of the House of Lords by Lord Salisbury on June 11, 1891.

With regard to Newfoundland and the Behring

Sea, no effort has been spared to effect an amicable arrangement with France and the United States.

**North
American
Fisheries,
1887 to
1890.**

In no quarter of the globe can the severest critic of the Government point to a serious error. Even the bitterest of his opponents have confessed to the unrivalled success which has followed Lord Salisbury's foreign policy.

CHAPTER II.

COLONIAL POLICY.

THE IMPETUS GIVEN TO IMPERIAL FEDERATION BY THE GOVERNMENT.

OF all the problems which engage the attention of statesmen at the present day, Imperial Federation is certainly the vastest and noblest. To weld together an empire which includes boundless territories all over the globe, and to establish a system of uniform action which shall result in the mutual protection and improvement of the English-speaking races ruled over by the Queen, is a project well worthy the attention of the country. Two representative men, Sir Henry Parkes and Lord Dufferin, have stated the case for the Federation movement in these terms. Said Sir Henry Parkes, speaking on the Western Australian Bill, in September 1889:—

“I foresee the time, and I think the time is steadily and rapidly advancing, when the Australian colonies will, for all the virtual purposes of a nation, be a great power on the face of the earth; but I can see no inconsistency whatever in this power growing to great magnitude, to a great national development, and yet being allied with the grand country from which we have all sprung. I see a time when the North American colonies may be brought more into

**Sir Henry
Parkes on
Imperial
Federation,
Sept.
1889.**

the position of one great and united people. I see a time when the South African colonies may be brought together into one great Anglo-African people. If a grand and powerful congeries of free communities, such as I have grouped in three parts of the world, becomes steadily formed, they may enter into an alliance with the parent State on something like a broad ground of equality. There is a promise of unprecedented usefulness for the British people by uniting as one in all parts of the world where our language is spoken."

These are eloquent words, and touch the true key-note of the future—loyalty. Loyalty to the Crown; loyalty to the traditions of the British race; loyalty to stand together in our progress through the world, and to suffer together if necessary. This is the foundation upon which to build up our federated empire.

Lord
Dufferin,
Oct. 30,
1889.

Lord Dufferin dealt with the other great element in this movement—India. Speaking at the Hôtel Métropole, London, at a banquet given in his honour upon the expiration of his term of office as Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin referred in particular to the increasing trade between our people and India. He said :—

"The volume of trade between Great Britain and India exceeds her trade with any other country in the world except the United States of America. In one year it amounted to £64,000,000. The export trade alone amounted to £34,000,000, whereas with France it was only £24,000,000, and with Germany £27,000,000. So that our Indian trade amounts to one-tenth of our whole trade with all the nations of the world. It must also be remembered that India acts as a most opportune and fortunate reserve whenever any of our usual customers are unable to supply us with those exports upon which we depend. For instance, in the years 1884-85, when Russia was no

longer able to export to us those large supplies of corn, India sent us no less than 600,000 tons of wheat. Similarly during the cotton famine the figures of raw material from India jumped up from £1,750,000 in 1860 to £5,500,000 in 1866. It is notorious that if anything were to derange the political relations which now prevail between this country and our great Eastern possessions, there is scarcely a cottage in Great Britain and Ireland, there is not a household in the manufacturing districts of the United Kingdom, which would not be made bitterly to feel the consequences of so intolerable a calamity."

In this speech there are distinctly shadowed forth the capabilities of our own possession to supply us with those materials which we at present purchase from foreigners. The time may not be so far distant when we shall at any rate establish a Customs Union or Zollverein, which need not interfere with the doctrine of free trade, but which shall give our own kith and kin fair play, and, in cases of doubt, advantage over the foreigner.

I shall probably be reminded at the outset that Imperial Federation is not a party question, and that Lord Rosebery and Lord Brassey have both taken a prominent share in all the efforts hitherto made. This is quite true. But it was the action of the present Government in the autumn of 1886 which brought this question before the country, and it is due to them that the Conference of 1887 was ever assembled. That Conference has effected so much that it would be impossible to pass it by without some consideration. In August 1886, a deputation from the Imperial Federation League was introduced by Lord Brassey to Lord Salisbury. It urged upon him the desirability of summoning a conference of the representatives of the self-governing communities of the empire, for the purpose of suggesting practical means whereby concerted action might be taken with

Responsi-
bility of
Govern-
ment
for the
Colonial
Confer-
ence of
1887.

regard to defence and intercommunication, postal and telegraphic.

Queen's
Speech,
Sept. 1886.
Mr E.
Stanhope's
despatch,
Nov. 1886.

The Queen's Speech at the close of the first session of the present Parliament announced that such a conference would be held, and Mr Stanhope, then Secretary for the Colonies, issued a despatch inviting the colonies to send their representatives to the Conference. It met in 1887 in London, and although the two subjects, defence and communication, formed the only items on the official programme, the Conference discussed thirty-two distinct subjects, and made recommendations on many questions concerning the wellbeing of the empire.

The
Colonial
Confer-
ence, 1887.

Lord Salis-
bury at
opening
of Con-
ference.

The Conference was thoroughly representative; some of the ablest statesmen in the colonies were present; and the subjects were discussed with conspicuous care and earnestness. Lord Salisbury attended to open the proceedings, and he said: "This meeting is the beginning of a state of things which is to have great results in the future. It will be the parent of a long progeniture, and distant Councils of the empire may, in some far-off time, look back to this meeting as the root from which all their greatness and all their beneficence sprang."

The most practical result arrived at by the Conference was the scheme for joint naval defence between the home Government and the Australasian colonies (see "Imperial Defence"), which was embodied in the Imperial Defence Act, 1888 (51 & 52 Vict. c. 32).

Satisfac-
tory
results of
1887 Con-
ference.

At a meeting of the Imperial Federation League on May 23, 1889, the following resolution was passed: "That this meeting regards with great satisfaction the practical advance which has been made during the past year towards the federation of the empire by the prompt action of the Legislatures of the great majority of the Australian colonies, giving

effect to the agreement of the Conference in 1887, to provide for the joint defence of the empire's sea-borne commerce in the South Pacific, &c." So that the League recognises the value of the Conference, and it is, moreover, anxious that there should be further conferences.

Lord Rosebery has also added his tribute of approval. Speaking at the Mansion House on Nov. 15, 1889, he said: "It is not my habit to go out of my way to praise the acts of her Majesty's present advisers; but I have never missed an opportunity of extolling the action they took in summoning that Conference." But we seem, as yet, to have reached only a preliminary stage in the history of Federation. The problems awaiting solution are four in number. In what manner can we best provide—

Lord Rosebery's approval of the Conference. See Daily News, Nov. 16, 1889.

- (a) For a general system of defence;
- (b) For a Central Council representing all our colonies;
- (c) For a Customs Union;
- (d) For a uniform postage and telegraphic system?

(a) With regard to Imperial defence, after our Indian army, Canada leads with a creditable citizen force. At the Cape Colony vigorous efforts have been made to fortify the towns open to attack. In Australia and New Zealand the organisation of local volunteers is most satisfactory. Even in Hong-Kong and Singapore subscriptions have been raised for defensive purposes; and according to Lord Carnarvon, if we look abroad at the scattered communities of Englishmen engaged in commerce, their liberality and generosity in subscribing for military purposes stand in favourable contrast with our own.

Defensive Federation.

These forces will in all probability increase annually; and as the means of communication continue to improve, we shall have it within our power to concentrate for offensive or defensive purposes an army equal to any in the world. If, therefore, we have

such forces owning allegiance to our Queen, and ready to fight (as in the case of the Soudan) side by side with our troops, it becomes imperative to devise a scheme by which they can be readily controlled and mobilised.

**The
Council.**

(*b*) The Council to fulfil this, among other wants, will have a responsible position in the world's history. How is that Council to be constituted? According to some who are best qualified to express an opinion, it must gradually form and develop from such conferences as that of 1887. Sir Samuel Griffith, then Premier of Queensland, said at the conclusion of that Conference: "It is impossible to predicate now what form future conferences should take, or in what mode some day further effect would be given to their conclusions; but I think we may look forward to seeing this sort of informal Council of the empire develop, until it becomes a legislative body under conditions which we cannot now foresee; and that, indeed, meetings such as this will before long be recognised as part of the general governing machinery of the empire."

**Sir Samuel
Griffith.**

**Lord Rose-
bery at
Mansion
House,
Nov. 15,
1889.**

In his speech on Nov. 15, from which I have already quoted, Lord Rosebery referred to the Amphictyonic Council of early Greek times. "It was a great council intended to consider questions rather of race than of policy. It was a bond, a union of race; and Mr Grote, in his history of the Greek nation, has pointed out that if the Amphictyonic Federal Council had been habitually directing or habitually obeyed, the whole course of later Grecian history would probably have been altered. United Hellas might have maintained her own territory against the conquering legions of Rome."

The more modern example of the United States of America is conclusive. Without a federation of different States, would the great American Republic ever have attained its present condition of affluence

and power? The schisms and misunderstandings would have been endless, and one State might have repudiated the action of the others. In the management of foreign affairs the crisis would have occurred; and that seems to be the principal danger confronting our own empire. The policy of our home Government might suddenly involve all these different colonial Governments in some European conflict. Not one of them would have shared in the policy producing such a result. The Colonial Governments will surely tire of an allegiance which gives them no voice in matters vital to their very existence. One of the most practical suggestions is that life peers should be created from among distinguished colonists and admitted to the House of Lords. In the course of several debates in the Lords, this has been insisted upon by members of both parties. Whatever direction the reform of the House of Lords may take, this would certainly be popular in the country, and would increase the usefulness of the Second Chamber; and the colonies themselves would have no ground for opposing such a plan. Mr Loring, the secretary of the Federation League, seems, however, to agree with Sir Samuel Griffith that the future Council of the empire will develop from conferences; and if their views are near the mark, the demand for a periodical repetition of the 1887 Conference will unquestionably meet with the sympathy and approval of Lord Knutsford and the Government.

**Colonial
Life Peers
in House
of Lords.**

**The Secre-
tary of
the Fed-
eration
League.**

(c) The kind of federation which presents fewest obstacles to an early attainment is commercial federation. Lord Dufferin has described how India supplied us with corn when we could not obtain it from Russia. There are many other instances, and it is a reflection upon our patriotism that we do not favour our own colonies in preference to foreigners. The tendency of all financial proposals should be to

**A Cus-
toms
Union or
Commer-
cial Fed-
eration.**

admit colonial produce of every sort and kind absolutely free of duty ; and where the colony is protectionist, to come to some agreement regulating the mutual interchange of commodities. I do not see that any arrangement of this sort need necessarily interfere with the doctrine of free trade.

Better
communi-
cation
with
Colonies.

(d) The fourth method of helping forward federation is by no means the least important. To add to the bond of sentiment which unites us with the colonies a real and tangible union, will surely be making good progress towards the end we have in view.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA CONSTITUTION ACT, 1890.

In 1890 the Western Australia Constitutional Act conferred responsible and representative government upon that colony.

PART V.

LABOUR QUESTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND A LABOUR POLICY.

IF we are to retain our lead in a commercial nation where labour is the greatest of all interests, it is essential that we should be prepared with a labour policy.

The organisation of labour and its power for good or evil is simply enormous. **Labour
organisa-
tion.**

The miners of Great Britain have a federation numbering more than 150,000 men.

Trade - unionism has permeated every centre of population, not in England alone, but in Australia and the colonies. The Trade Unionist Congress at Newcastle-on-Tyne on Sept. 7, 1891, was attended by 540 delegates, representing 2,000,000 working men. In 1889, when the unskilled labourers in the port of London were engaged in their memorable strike, they received £38,000 from the Australian unions; and in 1890, when Australian unionism

was engaged in a similar struggle at home, the English organisations reciprocated, and sent their colonial brethren large sums of money.

**Berlin
Labour
Confer-
ence, 1890.**

The Berlin Labour Conference in March 1890 was a notable event in the history of labour. The legislation in Germany which followed, and our own Factory Act of 1891, bear witness to the increased interest displayed by European nations in the condition of workers.

**Labour
Commis-
sion, April
1891.**

If we had made no attempt to grapple with labour problems, the probabilities are that we should have driven the labour party over to the extreme wing of the Gladstonians. But in April 1891, the Government decided to appoint a Commission to inquire into questions affecting the relations between employer and employed. Consequently the 'Gazette' of April 24, 1891, contained the text and names of the Commissioners, who were as follows: Lord Hartington (chairman); Lord Derby; Sir M. Hicks-Beach; A. J. Mundella, M.P.; H. H. Fowler, M.P.; L. H. Courtney, M.P.; Sir J. E. Gorst, M.P.; Sir Frederick Pollock; Sir E. J. Harland; Sir W. T. Lewis; A. Marshall; W. Abraham, M.P.; G. W. Balfour, M.P.; Michael Austin; Thomas Burt, M.P.; Jesse Collings, M.P.; J. C. Bolton; David Dale; A. Hewlett; T. H. Ismay; George Livesey; Tom Mann; J. Mawdsley; Samuel Plim-soll; H. Tait; E. Trow; and W. Tunstall.

**Prelimin-
ary meet-
ing, May
28, 1891.**

The Commission appointed three sub-committees—(a) for mining, iron, engineering, hardware, ship-building, &c. (b) For transport and agriculture. (c) For textile, clothing, chemical, building, and miscellaneous.

The syllabus of subjects to be inquired into by the committees includes:—

**Syllabus
of subjects.**

1. *Trade differences between employers and employed.*—Their causes, development, organisation, and conduct. Their cost. Their prevention or settlement.

Their causes.—*Wages*, how fixed. How calculated—by piece-work, day-work, or task-work. How paid—direct by employer or by sub-contractor, weekly, fortnightly, or at other periods, increased by bonus or reduced by stoppages; truck or payment in kind, or house, land, or other allowances. Difference of wages. Pensions, sick pay, and insurance.

The work
of the
Labour
Commis-
sion.

2. *Hours of labour and continuity of employment.*—Normal hours of work. Overtime, and how remunerated. Sunday and holiday work, how arranged and paid for. Duration of day's work and week's work, how arranged and paid for.

3. *Miscellaneous.*—Subdivision, distribution, and classification of work between trades, individuals, men, women, or children, whether half-timers or not, factories, workshops, or homes. Apprenticeships, introduction of machinery, supply and quality of the machinery and materials of produce or transport. Safety of employment, provisioning of ships, lighting, sanitation, and inspection of work-places. Discharge for belonging to a trades-union. Refusal to work with non-unionists. Discharge of representative delegates and use of black list. Employment of foreigners. Obnoxious officials. Sympathetic strikes. Other causes of dispute.

4. *Development, organisation, and conduct.*—(a) Trade associations or combinations of employers or of employed, whether permanent in character or temporary, occasional or for special dispute purposes; their trade rules, benefits, and policy. (b) Strikes and lock-outs, picketing, black-listing, and other methods of influencing persons concerned or not directly concerned in the dispute. (c) Importation of new or foreign labour, whether under contract or otherwise.

Their cost.—Economic result of strikes and lock-outs to workers, to employers, and to the community at large.

5. *Prevention or settlement.*—(a) Conciliation by joint committees or otherwise. (b) Mediation. (c) Arbitration, voluntary or compulsory. (d) Sliding-scales. (e) Profit-sharing. (f) Industrial partnerships and co-operation.

It was agreed that three sets of questions should be prepared—one set to be sent to different associations of employers, the second set to unions of employed, and the third to other representative bodies or persons.

The following is the membership of the three sections:—

Group A (iron and coal).—Mr Dale (chairman), Sir E. Harland, Mr Burt, Mr Abraham, Mr Trow (secretary of the Ironworkers' Union), Mr Hewlett (manager of the Wigan Coal and

Iron Company), Sir William Lewis, Mr Gerald Balfour, and Mr Fowler.

Group B (docks, railways, and agriculture).—Lord Derby (chairman), Mr Bolton, Mr Ismay, Mr Tom Mann, Mr Tait, Mr Plimsoll, Mr Jesse Collings, Professor Marshall, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.

Group C (textile and miscellaneous industries).—Mr Mundella (chairman), Mr Tunstall, Mr Livesey, Mr Austin, Sir John Gorst, Sir F. Pollock, and Mr Courtney.

It is obvious that this Commission is no mere attempt to trifle with the labour question, but that it will be able to issue a report upon which the Government can safely act.

**Sir John
Gorst's pro-
gramme.**

Sir John Gorst has constituted himself the apostle of the Conservative party on labour questions. In his Chatham speech on Feb. 12, 1891, he said there was a movement on the part of the working men of the world to secure shorter hours of work, better wages, and more leisure to cultivate their souls and intellects. To the doctrine that the State should not interfere in the regulation of labour there were these exceptions:—

- (1) Towards its own work-people. It might negotiate the hours and wages, and stipulate with the contractors that they should pay their work-people fairly.
- (2) It might prevent overwork in the Indian mills.
- (3) On the ground of public safety, it might regulate the hours of railway servants.

He advocated the creation of a Minister of Industries.

**Legislation
of the Gov-
ernment.**

In subsequent interviews, Sir John Gorst communicated his views to the press. Under the heading, "Reforms Ripe for Legislation," he included many bills which have already been prepared by the Government. Employers' liability; loss of life at sea; and the restriction of child-labour—all these are subjects which the Government have either dealt with since they came into power, or included in their Ministerial programme.

There remain only two subjects, but they are of paramount importance. The first, pauper immigration, even more closely affects the wellbeing and future of our country than the measures referred to by Sir John Gorst. Denmark and the United States have taken steps to check the flow of outcast labour into their markets. England, however, is first favourite, and as long as we continue to admit destitute immigrants to undersell our own workmen and ruin almost every occupation, our Legislature will have failed in one of its most elementary duties. There is a strong feeling among Conservatives, inside as well as outside Parliament, that legislation in this direction would be as popular as it would be beneficial.

Pauper immigration and old-age pensions.

The subject of old-age pensions opens up a much wider field of controversy. Whether they could be granted without materially increasing local taxation is as yet an undetermined question. But with the assistance of the present poor-rates, and a moderate insurance, we ought certainly to be able to provide a more satisfactory system than the unpopular pauper relief of to-day.

Old-age pensions.

Mr Chamberlain has been the pioneer of many Unionist reforms, and his views on this subject are valuable. In a letter dated June 10, 1891, Mr Chamberlain writes:—

“My object has been to call attention to the urgent necessity which exists for some legislative action in this matter. Under present circumstances it appears that one in two of our industrial population who may reach the age of sixty-five is doomed to end his life in the workhouse or in the receipt of pauper relief. To my mind this is a shocking state of things, and it is the duty of all statesmen to endeavour to find a remedy. Hitherto neither the Post-Office nor the great Friendly Societies have succeeded in inducing the working classes to make any provision against old age. The number of de-

Right Hon. J. Chamberlain on old-age pensions.

ferred annuities issued by the Post-Office is ridiculously small, and they are chiefly taken up by persons who do not properly belong to the working classes.

"As to compulsion, there are great difficulties in the way, and we must try to find sufficient temptation to induce the working class, particularly in youth, to provide against the necessities of advancing years.

"My original proposal was that the annuity should not commence before the age of sixty-five. It would be impossible to make any scheme for annuities at the age of sixty without requiring a larger contribution than the workmen are willing or able to pay.

"If the member is to have power of disposal over his payments in the event of his death before the age of sixty-five, this privilege would involve a reduction of from 45 to 58 per cent on the annuity payable. A subscription giving £10 a-year, without power of disposal, would only give from £5, os. 10d. to £4, os. 5d. with power of disposal.

"I consider the approval, if not the active assistance, of the Friendly Societies a necessary condition of any scheme of provision for old age.

"I should think it inexpedient to include provisions for insurance against sickness or accident. These matters are dealt with by the Friendly Societies."

By all sections of the working classes, from the miner to the navvy, a practical scheme of national insurance would be regarded as an inestimable blessing, and I hope it may yet be reserved for the Unionist party to crown the record of their legislative achievements by bestowing this great boon upon the workers of our country.

CHAPTER II.

THE EIGHT HOURS MOVEMENT.

THE demand for a limitation of the hours of work underground has been made by the miners' federations, but the objections to it are numerous and weighty. Some of the principal movements in favour of an eight hours bill were as follows:—

Agitation
in favour
of eight
hours.

At the meeting held at Bristol on Nov. 11, 1890, under the presidency of Mr Pickard, M.P., delegates from the various miners' associations expressed their approval of an eight hours bill. A poll taken in the Bristol district showed—

Miners'
Confer-
ence, Bris-
tol, Nov.
11, 1890.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|------|-----------|
| For parliamentary action, | . | . | 2760 | March 28, |
| Against „ „ | . | . | 103 | 1891. |

The South Wales and Monmouthshire Colliers' Federation pledged several Gladstonian members to support the Eight Hours Miners Bill.

Daily
News, Jan.
7, 1891.

The North Wales Colliery Federation met at Wrexham on Jan. 12, 1891, and expressed themselves in favour of an Eight Hours Act.

The annual conference of miners at Birmingham on Jan. 8, 1891, representing 212,000 workmen, passed a resolution in favour of an eight hours working day being obtained by Act of Parliament.

The Miners' Congress at Paris, April 5, 1891, passed a resolution advocating a general strike, if necessary, in order to obtain an eight hours day.

Organisa-
tions op-
posed to
parlia-
mentary
action.

But there is a very strong feeling against parliamentary action.

At the Trade Union Congress at Liverpool on Sept. 7, 1890, Mr Johnson (Durham) moved this amendment to an eight hours resolution: "That it is undesirable to relegate to Parliament the power

of fixing the hours of adult work in mines, and that our interests (trade-unions) can be best promoted by reserving to ourselves the liberty of taking such action when we think it opportune to do so." The supporters of the amendment claimed to have carried it at a very representative meeting.

**Trades
Union Con-
gress, Sept.
11, 1891.**

At Newcastle, on Sept. 11, 1891 (Mr Thos. Burt, M.P., in the chair), the Trades Union Congress dealt with a resolution moved by Mr Wood of the Miners' Federation. He referred to the opposition of Mr Burt and Northumberland and Durham miners, who opposed the eight hours movement. He moved a resolution in favour of eight hours, which was carried by 290 to 50 votes; the Durham miners, however, dissenting.

**Western
Daily
Press, Feb.
4, 1891.**

Mr Whitefield, miners' agent (Bristol), in his annual report, said: "We cannot overlook the fact that there is a divided opinion amongst the workmen of this country as to the best means of obtaining a reduction of the working hours. That eight hours from bank to bank is quite long enough for man or boy to be in a mine, out of twenty-four hours, meets with general assent. But there are those who think it would be better to fight it outside the House of Commons."

The opinions of leading Gladstonians and miners' representatives are as follows:—

**Mr Burt
opposed.
Daily
News, Feb.
8, 1890.**

Mr Burt (G.L., Morpeth), secretary to Miners' Association, said at Morpeth on Feb. 7, 1890: "He did not think a uniform eight hours working day secured by Act of Parliament was at all practicable. He looked rather to wise and effective combination among the men themselves to secure shortened hours than to legislative enactments."

**Daily
News, Dec.
3, 1890.**

At the Eighty Club, on Dec. 2, 1890, *Mr Burt* said: "He thought the State did some things exceedingly well and some very ill. His sympathies were

in the direction of shorter hours of labour, but was strongly against the fixing of the hours for adult males by Act of Parliament. Whenever the attempt had been made it had been a failure. It was almost impossible to prevent overtime, because both employed and employer would be apt to co-operate in bringing it about." Mr Burt opposed "Mabon's" eight hours bill in the Commons, and justified his action in a speech at Durham on May 14, 1891.

Mr H. C. E. Childers, M.P. (ex-Gladstonian minister), wrote on Dec. 31, 1890: "We live in a free country, and legislation of this kind is utterly inconsistent with personal liberty. The State has a perfect right to decide for how many hours it will employ men in its own workshops (arsenals, &c.), but not to decide what private employers should do."

Mr Childers,
Times,
Dec. 31,
1890.

Mr H. Broadhurst, M.P. (trade-unions secretary), said in House of Commons on Aug. 17, 1887: "Many trades in this country have provided themselves with the eight hours rule, and I am myself in favour of it where it can be obtained. But the question here is, whether the State is to be called upon to do for miners what they are perfectly able to do for themselves. If we ask the State to regulate the hours of labour for adults, we shall afterwards have to ask State interference in the matter of wages, and then we may have to ask the State to intervene to settle how wages are to be expended. To support this proposal would be to condemn the whole system of trades-unionism, which is one of the great triumphs won by labour in this country."

Mr H.
Broad-
hurst, M.P.
Hansard,
Aug. 1887.

Mr Thomas Lewis, M.P. (G.L., Anglesey), holds that a voluntary arrangement between the men and masters would be preferable to parliamentary action.

Mr T.
Lewis,
M.P.,
Daily
News, Jan.
7, 1891.

Mr John Morley has repeatedly opposed the eight hours movement. At Scarborough, on Nov. 7, 1890, he again expressed hostile views. He said: "I do

Mr J.
Morley,

Daily
News, Nov.
8, 1890.

not see how you are going to stop with the miners if you once accept the principle. I will tell you what I think would happen: in good times great bodies of men would flow into the mining industry, and when the bad times came, they would be thrown upon the backs of the trade-unions to which they belong. Suppose the number of men did not increase. Then there would be a great restriction of the output. The whole community would be punished, and nobody benefited."

Mr Gladstone has, on several occasions, opposed the eight hours movement, but as he has also supported it, I do not propose to quote his opinions.

Mr Labou-
chere,
Daily
News, Nov.
5, 1890.

Mr Labouchere, M.P., at Reading, on Nov. 4, 1890, said: "A general eight hour restriction is outside the range of practical politics. An eight hours limitation might mean either reduction in wage or no hours' work at all." *Mr Labouchere* has condemned the principle in several speeches.

Mr C.
Bradlaugh,
M.P.,
House of
Commons.
Hansard,
Feb. 1890.

The late *Mr Bradlaugh*, M.P., spoke against it in the House of Commons on Feb. 24, 1890. He said, "This proposal would demoralise the working classes. Working men should encourage a spirit of self-reliance, and settle the hours of labour for themselves. Parliament ought not to attempt to make backbones for men, and to legislate for the weak-minded would discourage the strongest and most vigorous in the continuance of their efforts. What would be the real result of these proposed restrictions upon the hours of labour and of output? They would result in stimulating foreign endeavours in every case where foreign nations had access to raw material, and we should eventually be driven out of all the foreign markets in the world." In a posthumous article in the 'New Review' for Feb. 1891, *Mr Bradlaugh* again opposed action by the State.

In reply to a deputation at the Home Office on

Feb. 17, 1890, Mr Matthews said: "When you urge upon me that the calling of a miner involves the spending of his working day in an obnoxious atmosphere and subjects him to a toil which is often extremely laborious and wearing, that is a matter upon which I shall always be glad to receive any practical suggestions calculated to improve the ventilation and conditions under which the miner works, whatever the cost may be. But it is my duty to be perfectly frank with you, and tell you that I hold out no hope that the Government will support any legislation which has for its object to impose restrictions on the freedom of adult males in the disposal of their labour."

Mr
Matthews'
views.
Daily
News, Feb.
18, 1890.

The truth is, the supporters of the eight hours movement have sought to disseminate the idea that a man may work fewer hours and yet receive the same amount of wages. "Less work and more pay," is the pith of the agitation. But I believe the men themselves are beginning to realise the impracticability of the movement. But undoubtedly there will be considerable misapprehension on this subject at the general election.

The return presented to the House of Commons on July 8, 1890, by *Mr Stuart-Wortley*, gives the result of careful inquiries in each of the fourteen inspection districts. The following figures will explain themselves:—

The men at present work—

| | | HOURS. | | HOURS. |
|--------------------------------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|
| 1. East Scotland | . . . | from 7.17 | to 7.88 | |
| 2. West Scotland | . . . | " 6.42 | " 8.09 | |
| 3. Newcastle | . . . | " 5.66 | " 6.09 | |
| 4. Durham | . . . | " 5.87 | " 6.99 | |
| 5. Yorkshire | . . . | " 7.4 | " 7.5 | |
| 6. Manchester | . . . | " 7.0 | " 8.5 | |
| 7. Liverpool | . . . | " 7.14 | " 7.86 | |
| 8. Midland | . . . | " 7.22 | " 8.42 | |
| 9. North Wales and Isle of Man | | " 5.88 | " 8.77 | |

| | | | HOURS. | | HOURS. |
|-----|---------------------|-------|-----------|----|--------|
| 10. | North Staffordshire | . . | from 7.19 | to | 7.63 |
| 11. | South Staffordshire | . . | " 7.32 | " | 8.25 |
| 12. | South-western | . . . | " 6.96 | " | 8.01 |
| 13. | South Wales | . . . | " 7.66 | " | 8.37 |
| 14. | Cornwall and Devon | . . | " 6.5 | " | 7.91 |

Major Wilkinson, the popular manager of large collieries in South Monmouth, assured me in Jan. 1891, that the average working day of the men in his district is six and a half hours, and these figures prove that the average underground toiler is employed for less than eight hours. It is therefore somewhat absurd to demand parliamentary interference with a grievance which is practically non-existent.

CONCLUSION.

I SHOULD like to add a few observations before closing my Brief.

Whatever may be charged against the Conservative, or I should prefer to use the expression, the party of equitable progress, under the leadership of Lord Salisbury its achievements have been brilliant and their effects far-reaching.

The history of the 1886 Parliament is the history of the development of modern Conservatism; and no Parliament has ever surpassed, few have equalled, the legislative career which I have attempted to describe in these pages.

But in one respect all elections are fought at disadvantage. In a country like ours, where interests are so varied and the population so numerous, there will always be a large body of men to whom self-interest is the only standard of political morality.

On a limited scale, bribery is punishable as a penal

offence. On a wholesale scale, bribery forms the creed and programme of a great political party. The "new Liberalism" of to-day is nothing more or less than bribery carried to its very utmost length. Nothing can be simpler. The State, or rather the majority as expressed by the return of a Government to office in the House of Commons, has a right to do whatever it pleases. This is the premise. If it be admitted, then the State has a right to confiscate the property acquired by the industry of a former generation or the enterprise of the present. Therefore a body of public men go to the constituencies and make terms with them. They form a compact. On the one side a majority is wanted, on the other side the levelling down of all property and class distinction. What is this if it be not unblushing bribery?

But unfortunately there is still another element which enters into the bargain between the levellers and "new Liberalism"—dishonesty. They start with the principle of being dishonest to the community. They end by being dishonest only to one another. Their supporters, or some of them, are deluded by false promises and unmeaning generalities. The politicians, when they are in office, conveniently forget their former friends. Can any impartial reader of Mr Gladstone's promises in 1879-80, and the performances of his Parliament from 1880 to 1885, deny the truth of what I have stated?

In order to purchase the Irish vote, the separatists and extremists are to be propitiated by Home Rule. The position of Irish affairs has undergone a complete change by the death of Mr Parnell. The only member of the Irish party capable of leading his countrymen has been removed, and Mr Gladstone's alliance with the Irish priesthood has so far been successful.

In England the same programme is being followed

now as in 1879. The political dissenters must be won over by disestablishment. The discontented must be led to believe that allotments will be provided gratis, and property universally divided. The fadmonger must be satisfied. Compulsory temperance, optional vaccination, nationalisation of land, and a thousand other demands must all be complied with—or promised. Anything and everything, honestly or dishonestly, only Mr Gladstone must clamber back into office.

To guard against such a calamity—and it would indeed be a terrible one—it is surely worth some little self-sacrifice on the part of every lover of his country. It seems to me little less than a sacred duty for all of us to participate in the work of preparing for the struggle.

The great danger with which we have to contend is apathy. Our own supporters are sometimes overconfident, and seldom realise the absence of political information among the electorate. It is only by mixing with the people, winning their confidence and debating public questions with them, clearing away their doubts and exposing the fallacies they sometimes honestly believe, that a struggle like this is to be won. If we would be victorious, we must work without cessation. It will be our own fault if the issue is other than the complete triumph of a just and righteous cause.

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